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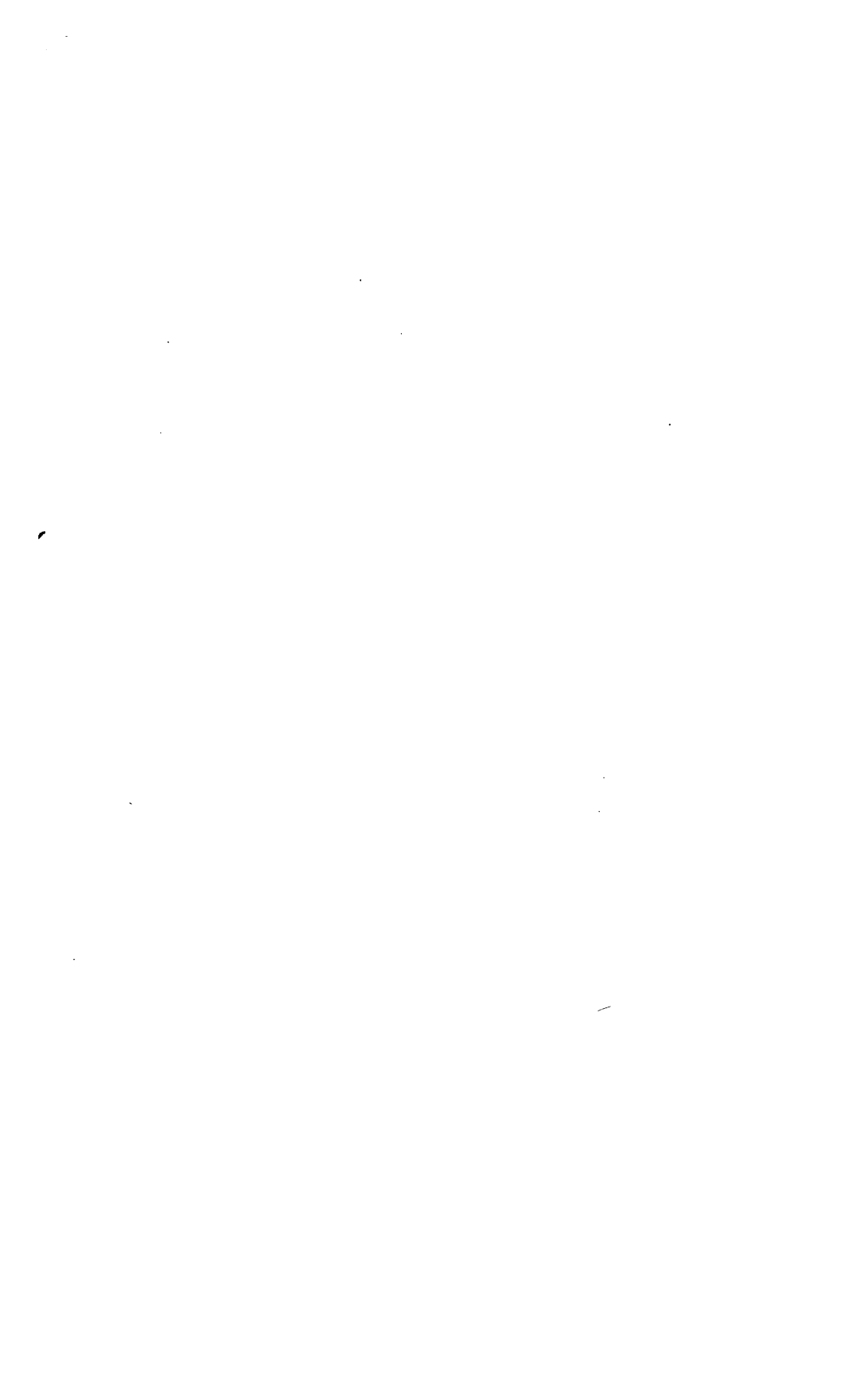
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THE
PHILANTHROPIST:

OR

REPOSITORY FOR HINTS AND SUGGESTIONS

CALCULATED TO PROMOTE

THE

COMFORT AND HAPPINESS OF MAN.

.....dicam nunc quid homini tribuendum sit: quanquam id ipsum quod homini tribueris, Deo tribuitur.....

..... Deus, qui cæteris animalibus sapientiam non dedit, naturalibus ea munimentis ab incursu et periculo tutiora generavit. Hominem vero quia nudum fragilemque formavit, ut eum sapientia potius instrueret, dedit ei præter cætera hunc pietatis affectum, ut homo hominem tueatur, diligat, foveat, contraque omnia pericula et accipiat et præstat auxilium. *Lactantius*, vi. 10.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

No. XIII.

On Frugality Banks.

WE have received communications from various philanthropic correspondents, on the subject of providing banks in which the earnings of the laborious classes might be safely deposited, and afford the benefit of interest to the owners.

It is, indeed, true, that every man who turns his eye with a brotherly feeling toward the least opulent, that is, the most numerous part of the community, will find many advantages open to the more fortunate, which are shut against them, partly from their own weakness and ignorance ; partly from the general indifference of human nature to evils from which a man thinks himself and his own order exempt. A poor man, for example, (and in this sense more than ninety-nine in a hundred of the whole population are poor men,) is shut out from a great portion of the benefits of law. The expense of a law-suit, by the sinister interest of lawyers of all classes, has been unhappily allowed to grow to so enormous a height, that it is only a man of the richest classes who can even apply for justice in the case of almost any injury. The disadvantage under which the most numerous class is placed by this circumstance, surely needs to be mentioned only in order to be felt. In fact, for all injuries, except very atrocious ones, which are sufficient to excite a public feeling, submission is a poor man's only remedy. This operates with great force as one among the causes of the mental degradation which threatens our countrymen. The man who cannot pay for law, can get no justice ; and screens himself from injury by sneaking from it, by suppleness and art. Our countrymen may be considered as divided into two classes ; a class who enjoy the benefit of law, and a class who are deprived of it ; the last a very large class, the former comparatively a very small one. On

this subject, however, we shall take other opportunities of enlarging.

To make a profitable use of his money, is another case in which the situation of the poor man is unfavourable. His disadvantage in this instance, however, is not like that under which he lies in the case of law. It arises not from the interested perversion of a human institution, so much as from the nature of things. The large sum of the rich man renders it immediately the interest of another man to take charge of it, and to allow pay or interest for the use of it. The pittance of the poor man carries no such recommendation along with it. The trouble of taking charge of it, and accounting for it, is apt to exceed the profit which can be made by the use of it.

It is, however, of great importance, that the poor man should be enabled to profit by the smallest sum; because it is a circumstance so calculated to operate beneficently upon his character. It is a kind of natural reward for what, in his situation, are the primary virtues, the qualities by which his own happiness is the most secured and his misery prevented, and the qualities by which he most contributes to the good of the community. It is the natural reward for industry and frugality, the virtues opposed to the poor man's most ruinous vices, sloth and intemperance.

As this is undeniably true, and as the application of adequate motives would insure the industry and frugality which we desire, it is only necessary to call to recollection the advantages of having a people industrious, frugal, and happy, and the contrary disadvantages of having a people slothful, intemperate, and wretched, to press the natural advantages of a bank for turning the earnings of the people to account, upon the conviction of every rational being.

The personal advantages which attend, or appear to attend, upon any act, or any mode of acting, are, together with the disadvantages of not so acting, the causes of action and of all its modifications. In proportion as we can succeed in raising the apparent advantages of any species of conduct, in that degree are we sure of producing such conduct. But to attach a profit to the savings of the industrious, is directly to increase the advantages of saving; and in proportion as these advantages are increased, the sort of conduct which leads to saving, viz. the practice of industry and frugality, is insured.

It is, therefore, not only desirable that the poor should be able to make interest upon their savings, but that they should be able to make something more than common interest. As the industry and frugality and happiness of the most numerous class form the

greatest of national blessings, whatever contributes to that end is itself a proportional advantage ; and so of course the motives to that conduct. The motives to save ought therefore to be increased. To what extent it would be possible to increase, beyond the market rate, the interest given upon the savings of the poor, without encountering disadvantages of an equal or greater amount, it would require a pretty long and difficult analysis to ascertain. This, however, in the mean time, may be affirmed, that the more it is increased, the more the motives to the industry and frugality of the people, the greatest of national benefits, is increased ; and that to a very considerable extent of increase no disadvantages appear to arise, which can come in comparison with the benefits produced. It would therefore be highly desirable, as one of the greatest of national improvements, not only that a system of banking, adapted to the circumstances of the majority of the people, should be established all over the country, but that funds should be provided for paying a higher than the common interest upon the savings of the industrious poor.

We know no objection which can be opposed to this idea but one. The plan may be affirmed to be impracticable. Upon this it is important to make one remark ; that when a scheme is good, and highly beneficent in principle, its impracticability ought not to be too lightly presumed. This is the plea of indolence, and the plea of inhumanity ; and in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred in which it has been made, it is ill-founded. It has prevented many schemes for the benefit of mankind, and has extended the duration of many evils. It ought to be laid down as a rule, to look upon the plea of impracticability with suspicion ; never to receive it upon trust ; and to give way to it only upon proof. It is one of the standing enemies of human improvement.

We can see difficulties of detail, and inconveniences to be guarded against ; but nothing which to our minds appears to be insurmountable.

If a greater than the ordinary rate of interest were allowed for the savings of the poor, artifices would be employed by some of those who are not poor to share in the advantages. But those to whom the epithets poor and not poor apply, are such distinct classes, that the line of separation between them might, we are persuaded, be pretty clearly drawn ; and the number who, under proper checks, would find it possible to accomplish the deceptive purpose, might be kept so low, as to produce no material defalcation from the mass of advantage. If we are right in this opinion, the grounds of which we shall analyse fully at some future period,

there can be no doubt about the great utility of affording extra encouragement to the industry and frugality of the poor, by providing an extra interest for their savings. This idea, however, we shall content ourselves for the present with barely throwing out. It was useful to illustrate the conception which we desire to convey of the importance of frugality banks. But one thing only must be done at a time. We shall, in the present article, confine ourselves to the more familiar and customary idea of banking, the advantages of which are safe-custody and common interest.

It can require but a moment's reflection to convince every one that the most numerous class lie under great disadvantages, from not knowing what to do with the surplus of their earnings. Even to lay it up and preserve it is very difficult, under the feeble securities of their ill-locked houses and chests. It seldom happens that any considerable hoard is collected by any of them without sustaining depredation, and not unfrequently exposing the life of the possessor. It really is remarkable how large a proportion of the murders which are committed in this country, are committed upon individuals of this class, by whom hoards are supposed to have been collected. As saving is by no means an easy, but a very hard and difficult virtue, to those who have so little to spend, a slight obstruction will generally operate as a preventative. And the belief, or only the suspicion, that what a man saves he is saving merely for the thief, will act as a powerful auxiliary to the appetites or passions which excite to expenditure on immediate enjoyment. In the many instances in which a trifle would turn the balance in favour of virtue, that trifle is thrown into the opposite scale, by the difficulty of securing the money that might be saved. In acquiring a habit of doing that which is difficult to be done, every observing spectator of human life must be aware how much little facilities promote, and little inconveniences obstruct, the endeavour. Nor is it easy to pronounce how far the providing even the simple circumstance of convenient places of reception for the earnings of the poor, without any other advantage than safe-custody, would contribute towards the practice of saving.

It would contribute to this desirable effect in another way. It would often render spending difficult, by placing the money out of the way. This is exactly that to which as much as possible our arrangements should be directed; to render saving convenient, spending inconvenient. If the labouring population could be induced to carry at the time of receipt as much of their wages as they could spare to a place of deposit, this single circumstance

would be a prodigious security for saving. The passions which most commonly prompt to expense are not difficult to resist for any particular moment. It is only difficult to resist them for a long time, and with constancy. Their influence arises from the continuance of their operation. They besiege a man without intermission; and when he has at all times about him the money which is subservient to their gratification, there are many chances that at some unguarded moment he will be tempted to part with it. He is placed in a state of much greater security where the money is taken out of his hands. The momentary difficulty of getting at it will very frequently be more than sufficient to overcome the momentary impulse of the tempting passion; and thus the money is saved. With this view it might be desirable not only to render the receipt of the savings of the poor as convenient and inviting as possible, but also to render the extraction of them, unless for certain necessary and defined purposes, a little difficult; as difficult, in short, as can be without lessening the inducements to make the deposits. Many simple contrivances might be devised to render the making of the deposits attractive and honourable; and others might be devised to render the retraction of them, except for known and approved purposes, somewhat difficult and disreputable. That every thing of this sort would have the most desirable effects, no one can doubt. Of contrivances of this tendency we may speak hereafter. At present, the necessity of sketching the outline will not permit us to descend to subsidiary details.

If the single circumstance of providing a bank of safe-custody would produce so many advantages; to render the deposits productive, by bearing interest, could not fail to operate powerfully toward the multiplication of those advantages. In effecting this purpose, too, there seems no difficulty of any peculiar magnitude. In the London banks there is no interest allowed upon deposits. But the reason is, that it is not customary to deposit with London bankers any more than the sums which are necessary for people's daily expenditure, and which they are every day drawing out. The money from which they propose to derive interest they dispose of differently; in the purchase of stock, and other ways. In Scotland, however, and in parts of England, it is customary to deposit with bankers more than the sums which it is necessary for people to have ready for current payments; and upon these the bankers allow interest. The business is managed in a way which is highly convenient for the customer. His deposits are received in any sums, however small, and he draws them out in such portions as he requires, receiving interest upon all that he

puts in ; paying interest upon all that he takes out. When security is provided, generally the personal security of some responsible individual, he may even take out beyond the amount of his deposits, thus receiving a credit which, to persons in trade, is often of the highest importance. Upon the sums deposited an interest is given, somewhat less than that which is received upon the sums taken out ; and the difference constitutes the reward of the banker for the trouble of management.

From this plan of banking useful hints may be derived for the organization of a system of Frugality Banks. It is necessary that the deposits of the labourer should be received in very small sums, and at all times when he has the small sum ready to put in. This accommodation, it is evident, ought always to be carried to the greatest practicable height. In the case, however, of banks for the labourers, there will be no occasion, as in the case of banks for the trader, of frequent extraction. What is put in, would in general remain till some of those exigencies which create the principal demands for expenditure to that class of men arrive ; sickness, old age, the education or the fitting out of children, and so on.

The grand source of difficulty is the expense. The trouble of entering in the banker's books, and of calculating the interest upon a small sum, is nearly as great as upon a large. The deposits of the poorest class, therefore, cannot easily afford an advantage to the banker sufficient to enable him to pay interest upon them ; probably not sufficient to defray the expense of management. In places, it is true, where the accumulation of deposits might be very large, as in great towns, the produce of the aggregate might afford a sufficient reward for management, and perhaps something for interest. But in general the aggregate of the deposits would never be large ; because it is necessary that no great distance should intervene between the place of deposit and the man who is to make it. The places must be near one another, must therefore be very numerous ; and hence the amount of the deposits in each must be small. How much this inconvenience might be overcome, by having receiving-offices in various places, and one grand central office, it would require a minute examination of details to determine. Were the measure taken up, on a grand scale, and placed in proper hands, we have no doubt that, to a certain extent, this would be the proper plan. The principle is already in practice. The larger banks of Scotland have offices, or branches, in all the principal towns ; and though the peculiar nature of the institution which we have in view would present a demand for peculiari-

ties of management, the practicability seems to extend to both cases.

The observations which have thus been made seem to enable us to draw out a list of the properties which ought to belong to a system of banking for the benefit of the labouring part of the community.

1. In the first place is to be mentioned, the completeness of the security. It is very evident that the deposits which the people are encouraged to make of their savings, ought to be placed as far beyond the reach of those failures, which are apt to arise from the accidents of business, from the improbity or from the blunders of managers, as it is possible to place them. Besides the suffering which is brought upon those who lose a fund devoted to important purposes, and which they are unable to replace, all uncertainty regarding the repayment of what the labourer may save, will diminish prodigiously the motive to save.

2. In the next place, those banks should deal in the minutest sums. Naturally, the surplus of every week's receipt is what it would be desirable should be carried to the banker. With some this would be more, with others it would be less. If it were only a shilling, it ought to be readily received.

3. The mode of transacting business should be as commodious as possible; so as neither to perplex the customer, nor to consume his time. The three principal operations are those of receipt, those of payment, and those of transfer when the title to any sum of deposits passes from one individual to another. By a system of book-keeping wisely adapted to the purpose; by printed forms as simple and as easily understood as the tickets of a turnpike-road, a great deal of facility might be given to the business, multiplied as its details would necessarily be.

4. The places should be commodious. Under this head, the principal circumstance is vicinity. Under proper regulations at the post-office, and if the people could all read and write, much might be done by letter; and the limits of vicinity might be enlarged. All letters on the business of the frugality banks should go postage free. And all evidentiary acknowledgements of receipt on the part of the bank or the customer should be exempt from the duty of stamps.

5. These banks should be enabled to pay interest upon the sums of the labouring classes deposited with them; and for the greater encouragement of industry and frugality in that order of the people, a greater interest than what is paid upon ordinary loans.

6. To preserve the precious fund deposited in these banks from

the cruel absorption which it would suffer in the courts of law, every dispute should, under an act of parliament, be determined finally by a jury of twelve men, one half to be chosen by each of the parties. Having thus seen a sort of outline of what frugality banks ought to be, and of the important services which they are calculated to render, the next inquiry, and, as we apprehend, the most difficult by far, is to ascertain by what means they can be established.

In the first place, it seems that they ought to be established upon a gratuitous fund. The use of the money of this class of persons will not in general afford a produce which will enable a bank to pay interest upon it; and certainly not the high interest which we think it would be of importance that the savings of the poor should receive. Now, whence is this fund to be derived?

There are two ways in which the thing might be done. It might either be done upon a general plan for the whole country, and with public money:—or it must be done by associations of private individuals, in separate districts, as often as they can be got to associate for such a purpose, through the voluntary contributions of those who are willing to cooperate.

If the measure were to be taken up in the national way, and with the authority of the legislature, a scheme might be formed for the whole country, which, acting from a centre with unity and combination, might render one operation or instrument subservient to another, and accomplish the object with great savings. There already exist in the country institutions upon which a great share of the business might be engrafted. The vestry-room of every parish might be an office of the Frugality Bank, managed by those who manage the poor's-rate. Into the regulations of detail we do not at present enter. We are well aware, that in putting the business into such hands as those of churchwardens and overseers, under the present system, many precautions would need to be provided. As it would be one important characteristic of the offices of the Frugality Bank to render the transaction of their business as agreeable as possible to the labourers, that they might be invited to come with their savings, that bullying and insulting air, which is so natural an appendage of the vestry-room, would be an evil to be dreaded. Perhaps the unpleasant, the humiliating ideas which are associated in the minds of the most needy class with the idea of the vestry-room, would be an objectionable circumstance of some importance, and tend to damp the exhilarating ideas of independence and of self-importance, which would invite them with their savings to the office of the Frugality Bank.

Indeed we are persuaded that if the measure were placed on a national basis, and judiciously systematized, with a grand central office, we shall say, in the metropolis, and grand provincial offices or branches in each county, or appropriate local district, offices by which all the confidential and more important transactions would be performed, it would not be difficult in each parish to find individuals properly qualified to perform the simple offices of receipt and disbursement in the parochial office, accounting monthly to the office of the province. As a security against undue influence, those parochial managers might, like the common parochial officers, be chosen annually by the parishioners. Allowing that now and then the choice might even in this way fall upon improper persons, the evil which they could perform previous to detection would be so small, that human affairs can hardly ever stand in a situation of greater security.

Under legislative authority, all risks might with great ease be guarded against except only one. To draw the savings of the great mass of the people to a central deposit; to give Government the power over it; or to place it in a tangible shape for the hands of Government, might place the people in a state of dependence upon the Government, by the dependence of this great fund; a dependence which might be employed to advance the powers of the rulers at the expense of the subjects, till every security for good government would be destroyed. That there is weight in this apprehension no one can doubt; and that combinations of circumstances may be conceived, in which power over such a fund might be converted to the most pernicious purposes. It is to be remarked, however, that the Government must be already bad, in which there could be any tendency to make a mischievous use of the fund in question. It must be a Government in which the interests of the people are not sufficiently provided for; a Government, in the composition of which the feeling of the popular interest is overmatched by the feeling of the oligarchical interest; a Government which has a tendency to abridge the advantages of the many, for the benefit of the few. So long, for example, as in England the House of Commons is adequate to its ends; that is, so long as its feelings of interest are identified with the greatest possible share of advantages to the people, any such fund as that of which we speak would be perfectly secure; the House of Commons would take care of it. But if we suppose a House of Commons whose feelings of interest are not identified with the greatest possible share of advantages to the people; a House of Commons which might find its account in entering into a sort of confederacy with the monarchi-

cal and aristocratical members of the Government, to share with them in the advantages of confining and fleecing the people, and on account of that share to cooperate in gradual measures for withdrawing or preventing the benefits which the people might otherwise enjoy ; in that case the power of the Government over a great deposit of the people's savings might accelerate the progress of misrule, by removing the fear of the people, almost the only check under which, in such a situation, the progress of misrule would lie. The proper remedy for this evil, then, is a proper care of the House of Commons ; a firm and irresistible determination in the community to have that House so constituted, as that its feelings of interest must be identified with the greatest possible share of advantages to the body of the people : to keep it in that situation, if it is so constituted already ; to place it in that situation, if it is not so constituted.

But the question of a legislative system of banking, adapted to the circumstances of the most numerous class, we shall prosecute no further. It is rather a thing to be contemplated as desirable, than hoped for as probable. The greatest possible share of happiness to the most numerous class has never yet been a very favourite object with legislatures. Circumstances are mending in that respect. But they must mend greatly before trees bearing such a fruit can very strongly vegetate in legislative soil. We must wait.

In the mean time, it behoves the friends of mankind to consider what can be done by private combination and exertion. By unconnected offices, established independent of one another, in different parts of the country, the business cannot indeed be performed so œconomically as under the advantages of unity and combination. Nor could they in a short time be so multiplied and distributed as to extend the benefit of them to the whole population. Under these circumstances, it would not be possible, in the first instance, to bestow so high an interest as would be desirable. But, as the spirit advanced, the contributions of the liberal to so beneficent an institution would probably increase, and the power of raising the interest be provided. Even where a small interest, however, is all that could be afforded, it would produce good effects. Nay, in places in which it might be impracticable to afford any interest at all, it would still be of importance to establish a bank for the purpose of safe-custody, and to endeavour by all such means as could be employed, to render it fashionable among the people, and a ground of reputation to have a stake in the bank.

Happily it appears not that there can be any great difficulty in

combining the elements of so beneficent an institution almost any where. One would suppose that it might be still more readily accomplished than a soup establishment; because, in fact, it would afford much less to do. In the case of the soup, there is not only the receipt and disbursement of money, but there is a business of much greater labour and detail, the manufacture and distribution of the soup. In the case of the banks, the receipt and payment of the money nearly constitute the whole list of operations. In fact the soup establishments, especially such of them as are organized upon a good plan, like that in Spitalfields, the excellent regulations of which we have on a former occasion explained to our readers, present the example of a groundwork, on which frugality banks might be universally established.

Wheresoever a few men of benevolence, and of that degree of property and consideration which is requisite to lay the foundation of confidence, can combine together, they may establish a Frugality Bank just in the same manner as they might establish a Soup Office, or a Frugality School.

It would be desirable that a beginning should be made by obtaining the contributions of the well-disposed to constitute a fund for paying an interest upon the deposits of those for whose benefit the bank is intended. The invitation to the people to come with their savings would then act with peculiar force.

The business of detail presents no mystery. A central office or room, with a clerk to pay constant attendance, from an early hour in the morning till a late hour at night, that so, at any hour which might be most convenient to the customer, he might immediately get his business done, appears to be the whole of the necessary apparatus. The business of direction and management would of course be performed gratuitously by the respectable individuals to whom the establishment owed its existence.

In supposing a spirit for erecting banks upon this principle to go forth over the land, what is to be guarded against is, the chance of the business, in any instance, falling into improper hands. In the case of offices, for example, of insurance against the militia, it has often happened that the money of the people has been collected by cheats, who had no other intention than to run away with it. That banks would be set on foot by people of the same description, by whom mighty advantages would be promised, and all the arts of invitation and guile would be practised, we may expect. That they would in some instances be undertaken by individuals of the best intentions, but who, for

want of funds or management, would be unable to repay, may also be expected. These cases would be full of disaster. They would not only operate cruelly upon those of whom the hard-earned and precious treasure was lost, but they would shake the confidence of the people in the whole system, and deter them from saving.

These dangers might, however, in a very great degree, if not wholly, be precluded by the exertions of the really respectable men in every district. If the men whose character and circumstances in each district are known to be the most trust-worthy in a pecuniary point of view, were to take the charge of such an establishment, and, with that kind of care, for one another which our common nature seems to require of all of us, were to exert themselves to protect their less instructed and more deceivable brethren from the snares which in this way might be spread out for them, banks in which the deposits of the labourer would be safe and productive might every where be established, and those in which they would not be safe, in almost all cases be prevented.

The grand sanative principle for the administration in all its branches of the affairs of the many, we mean *publicity*, would be found in this case a preventive remedy of almost all diseases. As there can be no motive for concealment here, except bad motives, provision should with the utmost care be made for the most perfect publicity. A system of book-keeping should be contrived, to exhibit with the utmost clearness and simplicity every transaction; and to make manifest what has been done with every penny received. These books should always lie open for every body's inspection; and it should be reckoned the duty of the respectable people of the district to inspect them carefully, and often. General meetings of the contributors, and of those who have made deposits, as well as of those who may be expected to make them, should be held periodically, to whom reports of the state of the concern should be presented. These general meetings would have happy effects of various kinds. They would not only act as a check upon every species of mismanagement, but as an inducement of peculiar efficacy upon the people to have savings to deposit. For this purpose, the names of all those who had any thing in the bank should be read to the assembly, with the sums which they had lodged; and pains should be taken by the people of influence to show partiality and distinction to those by whom the greatest proofs of industry and frugality are thus displayed. A committee might be chosen by this meeting, composed partly of the contributors and partly of those who have made deposits, for the express purpose of in-

specting the books, and taking cognisance of the transactions, during the intervals of the general meetings.

One circumstance it would be necessary to guard against on the part of the people themselves ; and that is, the effect of such panics as would occasion a run. A run would in this case be a very serious evil. It would not only break up an establishment, however trust-worthy and useful, but it would give all of a sudden a sum of money to a considerable number of people, which they would not know what to do with, and which would be spent most probably in debauchery and intemperance. This it would not be very difficult to remedy ; and satisfactory security should in such cases be always received instead of money. This should be an original condition, to which consent should be declared to be given by the deposit of money. And of the goodness of the security, a jury, one half of which should be chosen by the contributors, and the other by the owners of deposits, neither of whom should choose from their own body, should be the final judge.

It would save a good portion of the business of detail, and could not much act as a discouragement to the savings which we desire to see made, if the giving of interest was deferred till the deposits of the individual amounted to an even sum of a certain magnitude ; say one pound, or, when the funds are small, even five pounds. A high interest upon the considerable sums will operate more powerfully as an inducement to make savings and deposits than a low one, though allowed upon the smallest sums. The smallest sums, therefore, should be received ; but there is no occasion that interest should commence upon them till they are augmented to something considerable.

As there must be a considerable union of advantages in such a place as will afford the most desirable assemblage of men for the formation of a frugality bank, it would be of great advantage, where such an assemblage happily exists, and a bank has been formed, that they should extend the sphere of their usefulness to such places as are less happily situated, by appointing subsidiary or receiving-offices all around, where the labouring man, who cannot with his shilling repair to a distance, might have a place at hand where his money might be received without risk, and accounted for, at short intervals, to the central or principal board.

The advantage derivable from the deposits thus made in the frugality banks might be converted, according to the convenience or wishes of the owner, into an annuity, either to himself at the age of superannuation, or to a widow, at his death, at the age of superannuation, or during the nonage of children.

The hints which we have now thrown out, and which are rather intended for incentives to set the minds of other men to work, than supposed to approach the form of regulations to be followed, must suffice at present to convey an idea of the plan which we recommend, and of the advantages which the country might derive from a well-contrived scheme of banks for encouraging the savings of the poor. There is another circumstance, however, closely connected with the same subject, on which we must offer a few observations before we conclude.

The banks which it is found profitable to establish for the accommodation of the classes which have property, frequently perform two functions. 1. They borrow, that is to say, receive money, on condition of repaying it with interest. 2. They also lend or accommodate persons, who have the occasion, with money, for a limited period, at interest. The poor have occasion for loans as well as the rich; often very great and faultless occasion. It is highly desirable that these wants should be supplied on the most beneficent principles. In this country they have always been supplied on worse principles by far than in several of the other countries of Europe.

It most commonly happens, that persons of the most numerous class, who have occasion for loans, have no other security to tender except the deposit of some article of property. This is called borrowing upon pawn or pledge. In this country the business of lending to the poor upon their pledges has been abandoned altogether to persons who have undertaken it for the sake of the profits which they could derive from it. To make a business of detail, so minute and laborious, yield a profit, the expense of borrowing to the sons and daughters of poverty becomes enormous. Not only do they borrow at an interest three times as great as that which the law permits to be taken from the rich; but the goods which they pledge are always taken greatly under value; and when they are unable to redeem them, which is often the case, they lose prodigiously by the forfeiture. The interest actually paid by the poor on the loans they obtain from the pawn-brokers would not probably be over-rated even at 30 per cent. No one can hear this circumstance expressed without being struck with the hardship which it announces. No one can reflect upon so distressing a fact without earnestly praying for its removal. It is estimated by Dr. Colquhoun, in his work on the Police of the Metropolis, that in the metropolis alone there is, of the property of the most destitute class, to the amount of half a million and upwards constantly in the hands of the pawn-brokers; and Sir Frederic Morton Eden is of opinion

that his estimate falls below the mark. It is only a proof of ignorance to rail against the pawn-brokers; for though the business no doubt often falls into the hands of rogues, by whom their customers are defrauded, yet the business of pawn-broking, upon the whole, is not more highly paid than is necessary for its existence. There can be no danger that the power of competition fails of producing its effect in this any more than in other cases; that is, in reducing the profits of the trade to their lowest terms. The misfortune is, that the business of lending to the poor is not placed upon some foundation on which they might be saved the ruinous expense with which it is attended under the existing system. In Italy and in France, the business was to a great extent placed upon a charitable foundation. There were institutions which the public supported for lending to the poor, upon their pledges, at favourable rates. And one cannot help wondering that in Great Britain, in which a want of charitable liberality is certainly not one of our faults, an undertaking calculated to save so much misery should never have met with patronage and support. It is one of those works of benevolence which we feel disposed to press upon the public with no common earnestness. Because the evil has long existed, it should not for that reason be for ever consigned to neglect. We hardly know any field of benevolence in which a given quantity of exertion is calculated to yield a larger produce of happiness than this. What, then, we here would recommend is, the consideration how far the business of lending to the poor on beneficent terms could be united with the business of frugality banks. The additional labour required is the principal difficulty which we are able to foresee. In many cases, where the number of proper persons even for the business of the bank might not easily be procured, the association with it of a loan-office might be impracticable; and there it would be necessary to defer the attempt. But in all those places in which proper persons to undertake the labour could be found, it would be a great additional advantage to lend to the poor on the most beneficent terms. Circumstances so far appear fortunate, that in those places where there is the greatest demand for loan-offices of the poor, that is, the most populous places, there too is the greatest chance of meeting with a sufficient number of qualified persons to take charge of the charitable work.

Under the abandonment in which the interests of the most numerous class have been left, by those of greater means and powers in respect to a safe or profitable mode of disposing of such parts of their earnings as it was possible for them to save, it is wonderful how much they have done for themselves. They

have formed themselves into associations, which they have called Benefit Clubs or Benefit Societies, for the purpose of composing, by a fixed weekly or monthly contribution from each member, a fund for some specific purpose, such as an allowance to the members during sickness, or in old age, and some other situations. These societies have extended themselves very generally over the kingdom ; and the greater proportion of the people in all probability belong to them. That they are of use, no one can doubt. But they are inferior to the institution of frugality banks in many important respects.

In the first place, the inducement which, through the advantage of saving, they hold out to the great virtues of industry and frugality, is exceedingly small compared with that of the frugality banks. To these societies every man contributes a fixed periodical sum, generally a very small sum. He contributes no more, whatever may be his ability ; and the man with small wages and great burthens, contributes as much as the man of large wages, who may have no burthen at all. There is no motive, under this system, for exertion to increase one's savings. Under the system of frugality banks every man deposits what he is able or willing to save, and the benefit accrues solely to himself. Whatever he accumulates, it is all his own, with all the advantages which it brings. In the other case, what he contributes is sunk ; it is no longer his own property ; it belongs to him in common with others ; and the only benefit which he expects from it is that of an assistance upon a contingent calamity. Who sees not that the difference of the motive in these two cases is prodigious ?

In the next place, the security of these benefit clubs can seldom be good ; and it frequently happens that the funds are dissipated and lost.

They can seldom turn their capital to any good account, from their ignorance of business, and other causes. It either remains totally unemployed and unproductive ; or, if lent at interest, is liable to fall into dangerous hands.

Most frequently no other place presents itself for holding the meetings of those societies or clubs than the public-house. The public-house is attended with temptations to intemperance and expense which are too often not resisted.

The management of the business of the club being performed by the members, all collected in person, is liable to be performed tumultuously, to engender quarrels, and produce dissolution. It is, however, an important fact, that quarrels do not often arise ; and the harmony and steadiness with which most of the clubs

conduct themselves is truly surprising, and worthy of particular remark.

Other disadvantages on the side of benefit clubs will easily suggest themselves. A specimen is all that we can present.

We now come to the grand obstruction which stands in the way of all attempts to better the condition of the poor ; we mean the poor's-rate. The question must instantly suggest itself to the mind of every reflecting person, What possible motive for industry and frugality can be presented by the operation of your banks, to the mind of a labouring man, which will not be effectually combated by the thought of a provision made for him against all contingencies, and in spite of misconduct ? Nor is it merely the palsy with which the poor's-rate strikes all the motives to industry and frugality in the minds of the most numerous class, that is the only obstruction which it opposes to the beneficent operation of the frugality banks. Rearing, as it does, a greater population than can be reared by the industry of their parents, it reduces the wages of labour below the rate which is necessary for the subsistence of the labouring class. This actually is the disastrous state of the facts at present in England. The wages of the labourer, as soon as ever he comes to have a family, as soon as he is the father, for example, of two children, are unequal to his support, and he becomes by necessity a parish pauper. In these deplorable circumstances it is the unmarried man alone who can almost ever have it in his power to save. But what motive to the painful effort which is required of the labouring man to save, is left to him under the prospect that no savings and no exertion can deliver him, if he aspires to the condition of a husband and a father, (a prospect which usually operates as the strongest of motives,) from the necessity of sinking into a common pauper ? The dread of evil, the dread of shame, the love of independence and superiority, the natural incentives to industry and frugality, are all destroyed by the baneful operation of the poor's-rate. The dread of evil is cut off by the certainty of a provision ; the dread of shame, by the certainty of incurring it ; the love of independence, by the impossibility of attaining it. In these circumstances, what effects can the providing of banks be expected to produce ?

We are constrained to confess, that it is indeed a question which we know not how to answer. It is impossible not to see and to acknowledge that the poor's-rate acts with a force in destruction of the motives to industry and frugality in the great body of the people, which we fear there is nothing that can resist.

At the same time we distinctly see that there is yet a fund of virtue in the people of this country, which, wonderful as it undoubtedly is, the poor's-rate has not been able entirely to root out. The existence of the benefit clubs is a striking proof of it. They bear a most honourable testimony to the desire which even yet prevails in the most numerous class of Englishmen, to live, in spite of all their discouragements, above dependence upon the poor's-rate. This virtue, which so much deserves to be cherished and honoured, the establishment of frugality banks would greatly contribute to uphold, and perhaps to increase. A certain number of those, whom degradation to the poor's-rate would most severely wound, they would preserve from that calamity; and they would, we trust, do something towards enabling the nation to deliver its most numerous class from the greatest of all its evils, an unwise and mischievous provision for its wants.

In this preliminary sketch we have drawn assistance from all quarters. A work of Mr. Bentham on Pauper Management, published in Young's Annals of Agriculture, and of which we shall hereafter render a more particular account, contains on the subject by far the best ideas we have met with in print. We owe our acknowledgements to Mr. Creed, of Ashford, from whom we have received some valuable communications, and who is a zealous friend to the measure. It would be tedious to refer to all from whom we have received exhortation to recommend the subject to the public. We are not without hopes that the minds of many persons scattered through the country are prepared for the measure, and want but a little excitement to commence their operations.

Thomson's Travels in Sweden.

[Continued from vol. iii. p. 254.]

WE left our travellers at the close of our last account at Stockholm. We are now to follow their movements from that city. It appears that they went directly from thence to Upsal; and here we may state it as a remarkable fact, that though the distance between Stockholm and Upsal is nearly forty-seven English miles, no town, and hardly a village was to be seen upon the road.

Upsal or Upsala, which was long the capital, is said to be one of the most ancient cities, as well as the most ancient Christian establishment, in Sweden. The palace was burnt down in 1702, but one wing and part of another remain. The cathedral is the finest as well as the largest in all Sweden. Within it is the monument of the great Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of his country and the founder of the present dynasty. Near the altar stands a silver coffin containing the bones of Eric the Fourteenth, and eldest son of the former. There are also other monuments. In the sacristy several articles are kept, which are said to be worth seeing as curiosities. Upsala is a small but regular and neat-looking town. The inhabitants are about 3000 in number, exclusive of the students. It has no species of trade or manufacture whatever, but depends entirely upon the university.

One of the first visits which Dr. Thomson made after he reached Upsala was to the Library there. In speaking of it, and of literature in Sweden as connected with it, he makes us acquainted with an extraordinary fact. "The number," says he, "of scientific readers in Sweden is so small, and the knowledge of the Swedish language so circumscribed in foreign countries, that there is hardly sufficient encouragement to publish scientific works in the language of the country.—Hence it happens, that the number of scientific books in the Swedish language is but small. Men of science in Sweden are obliged to draw their information from books written in foreign languages. Hence they are all obliged without exception to learn foreign languages. The German being the language abounding in books nearest to Sweden, and Germany being the country from which books can be most easily procured, it is thence that they draw their chief information. Hence every man of science in Sweden understands German. Some of them even write it. Hence the first part of their lives is devoted to the learning of languages; and the greatest part of their libraries consist, not in Swedish, but in German, French and English books.—Understanding these and Italian, they may travel with the utmost facility all over Europe, and never can be at any loss to enter into society or join in the conversation in whatever country they happen to be. What a facility this gives to the collecting of information and the acquiring of general knowledge it is easy to conceive."

After the Library he visited the Botanic Garden, the Musæum of Natural History, the house and laboratory of Bergman, and the collection of minerals. He appears to have been particularly

struck with the house and garden of Linnæus. "There is a certain interest," says he, "attached to the places which have been frequented by illustrious men, or which have been rendered remarkable by any great event. We feel a kind of pleasure in surveying these places. It is difficult to tell why, but the feeling, however it may originate, is almost universal; and it carried us with considerable eagerness to a spot where nothing was to be seen but devastation and ruin. The house of Linnæus stands in Swartzback Gatan (Black Stream-street). It is two stories high, covered with plaster on the outside, and appears large and commodious. At present it is partly occupied by the music-master belonging to the university, and partly by Adam Afzelius. The garden is immediately behind, and contiguous to the house, divided into three compartments. It was the botanic garden of the university before the time of Linnæus, and seems to have been selected for the purpose for very good reasons. It has the appearance of being the best sheltered and warmest spot in the whole neighbourhood of Upsala. The apartment in the garden where Linnæus used to lecture is still standing, and the range of hot-houses and green-houses on both sides of it have not been altered. But the glass panes of all of them have been destroyed by time, the green-house plants have been removed, and the floor is covered with a rich crop of docks, nettles, and other common weeds. The range of apartments where he kept his animal preparations is likewise unaltered, but every thing which they contained has been removed. Two of the compartments of the garden are precisely in the state that Linnæus left them. His small ponds, his artificial rocks, and even some of his plants may still be seen: but the greatest part of them is covered with grass and weeds, and presents one of the most desolate and disagreeable sights imaginable. The third compartment has been converted by Adam Afzelius into a potatoe-garden. The reason of all this desolation is, that after the death of Linnæus, Gustavus the Third was at the expense of a new botanical garden to the university, because the old one was too small. He refused to be at the expense of both gardens. The botanical garden of Linnæus belonged to the university; and their funds not being sufficient to enable them to keep it in order, the consequence has been, that it has been allowed to fall into the desolate state in which it now is. It would have been for the interest of botany to have kept up the old garden, notwithstanding the new, as it was better situated, and of course better adapted for the rearing of delicate plants. Besides, the

preservation of his garden and his plants was an honour, to which the genius and splendid exertions of Linnæus entitled him."

Dr. Thomson has favoured us with an account of the academical constitution of this celebrated university, of its professors, teachers, students, studies, lectures and degrees. He has given us also the geognostic constitution of Upland, the province in which Upsala is situated. This comprehends an analysis of the mine of Danemora and the quarry of Ytterby. It appears that the iron mines in Upland amount to twenty-seven.

From Upsal our travellers proceeded through Dalscarbo, Ekelunda, Logbo, and Harfsta, all of them towns or villages in Upland, to Sala, which belongs to the province of Westmanland. Sala is distant from Upsal about sixty-two English miles. It has been before observed, that the Swedish soldiers were quartered during peace upon little farms. Our travellers had an opportunity during this excursion of seeing "their houses, with the fields surrounding them, by the cultivation of which they supported themselves and families when not actually in the field. These houses and fields gave them a favourable idea of the industry of these men. The houses were in rows, each at a considerable distance from its neighbour. They were constructed of wood, and small, but in the neatest order. The fields looked also well, and bore good crops." Sala, "like all the Swedish towns, has an open square, from which the streets run with the utmost regularity in different directions. The church stands at the west end, at some little distance from the town; and there is a small lake upon the north side, round which the road winds. The houses at the south-east end of the town are very mean. The streets are in general wide, but ill paved. The pavement consists of round stones of very unequal sizes, and is in consequence full of holes, where water is deposited, which makes the streets always wet and dirty." Dr. Thomson, after describing the town of Sala, takes particular notice of some of the mines in Westmanland. He gives a minute account of that of Sala, of the veins which cut the lime-stone bed, of the silver and lead extracted from it, of the number of miners, and of the different minerals belonging to it. He describes also minutely the copper mines of Ridderhyttan and Bastnas, laying open their geological contents. As in Upland, so in Westmanland there are no less than twenty-seven mines either at present in existence, or which have been formerly wrought.

Our travellers having satisfied their curiosity as far as the time would permit, left Sala and proceeded to Fahlun, which is in

the province of Dalecarlia, a distance of about seventy-five English miles. The places through which they passed were Brodbo, Wiggarne, Brunback, Grado, Upbo, and Strand. "The road from Sala to Brodbo lies in part through a shallow lake. It is constructed of wood at a considerable expense; and being nearly upon a level with the surface of the lake, which encloses it on both sides, it has a novel and beautiful effect.—The country between Sala and Fahlun is remarkably beautiful, especially after you enter Dalecarlia, a little to the south of the river Dal.—"This river," says Dr. Thomson, "is a considerable stream, though much too shallow for the purposes of navigation. It is wide, and, at the time I saw it, was so stagnant that it rather resembled a lake than a river. It is liable to sudden and considerable swells, which raise it greatly above its usual level. In consequence of this circumstance, and the lowness of its banks, it has been found impossible to build over it a stone bridge. Yet, as the road to Fahlun crosses it no less than twice, a bridge was obviously necessary, and a very ingenious one has been constructed of wood, which is perfectly safe, but of a construction so totally new to us as to excite considerable surprise. Indeed my fellow-traveller was so much alarmed, that he hastily threw aside his great coat in order to be ready to swim, in case the carriage, as he expected, should be thrown into the river. It consists of a very strong stage of large square trees floating under water, and so attached to each other and connected with the banks, that, though they float at full liberty, they cannot be carried down the river. Over the middle of this stage, the upper part of which is just on a level with the surface of the river, is fixed a close row of square trees about eight or ten inches thick, and about twelve feet long. These logs lying in the direction of the river constitute a kind of floating bridge, over which a man may walk perfectly dry-footed; but when a carriage or loaded cart presses on them they sink a few inches under water, so that a small portion of the wheels, and even of the horses' feet, sinks under the water. The rattling of this seemingly loose bridge, the splashing of the water as the carriage passes on, the sinking and rising of the boards, have a very odd effect. But I satisfied myself, by a careful inspection of several of these bridges, that they are perfectly safe. There is a wooden parapet on both sides to prevent the horses or any other animal, while passing, from falling into the river. The advantage of this bridge is, that it always swims upon the surface of the water, and is equally passable, whether the water be high or low. To secure this, the wooden bridge

extends a good way further on both sides than the banks of the river when low. At that season it has somewhat the appearance of an inverted catenaria. But when the river is high it is nearly straight.—The inhabitants of Dalecarlia constitute a set of men very different in their habits and appearance from the rest of the Swedes. You see them in considerable numbers in Stockholm, where they undertake the office of porters and labourers, as the Highlanders do in Edinburgh, and the Irish in London. They retain always the peculiar dress of their country, which it is said has undergone no change since the time of Gustavus Vasa. The men wear long whitish-gray coarse coats, with buttons seemingly of horn or leather, and in shape somewhat similar to the English jockey coat, but more clumsily made. They wear a thong of leather by way of girdle. Their hats have somewhat the appearance of those which our Quakers wear. In the northern parts of the province they use a dialect of their own, somewhat similar to the English, or rather to that dialect of English, which is spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland. It is reported that a Dalecarlian, who spoke this dialect, being landed near Aberdeen, was understood by the inhabitants of Scotland. Not having been in the part of Dalecarlia where this dialect is spoken, I had no opportunity of judging whether it was intelligible to a person from Scotland. But my information was derived from Mr. Tode, a Swedish merchant, one of the best informed men I met with in Sweden, and who spoke English exceedingly well.—The military character of the Dalecarlians stands very high. They first rose to eminence during the struggles of Gustavus Vasa, who was enabled by their means to shake off the Danish yoke and vindicate the liberty of his country. This military character they have preserved ever since, and have more than once exerted it for the deliverance of their country. The regiment of Dalecarlia bears nearly the same character in the Swedish army that the 42d regiment does in the British.”—

Dr. Thomson is very minute in his geological description of the province of Dalecarlia, and particularly of the copper mine at Fahlun, of which he presents us with two plates, the one exhibiting the ground plan of it, the other a perpendicular section of its contents. His description of this and of the former province, in which were the mines of Sala, Ridderhyttan and Bastnas, and of which mines it has been said that he gave also a particular account, will afford a treat to the mineralogist, whom, however, we must refer for further information to the work itself. It appears that after his visit to these provinces he returned to Stockholm.

It became now time to return to England : and therefore, to see as much as possible of the country, our travellers resolved to take a different route from that by which they had passed from thence to Stockholm ; that is, whereas in the first instance they had travelled high above the northern part of the lake Vetter, they determined upon returning by the south end of it. It was necessary, however, to procure a passport, " as from the nature of the Swedish police, which is an exact imitation of the French, a person would not venture to travel without being provided with one. There is no difficulty in procuring one. Nothing more is necessary than to pay the fees, which amount to rather less than six shillings." Accordingly, having obtained a passport, they left Stockholm. Their first stage was to Fittje, in the province of Sodermanland. From thence they travelled through Sodertelje, Pilkrog, Lilla Oby, Oby, and Svarbro to Nykoping, a distance altogether of about 78 English miles. Nykoping is described to be a small town, and built, like all the other Swedish towns except Stockholm and Gottenburgh, of wood. The inn, however, there, is spoken of as the best they had met with in all Sweden. While at Nykoping, they made an excursion to the iron and copper mine at Tunaberg, of which an analysis is given. Three other iron mines are noticed in this journey, those of Uto, Handvid, and Sjosa. These they did not visit. Dr. Thomson, however, has given their geological contents from the accounts of Fourcroy, Vauquelin and others. It may be proper to mention, that the different towns from Stockholm to Nykoping, as well as the mines now mentioned, are in the province of Sodermanland.

Leaving Nykoping they came very soon into a new province, namely, that of East Gothland. Their first stage was to Norkoping, where they did not arrive till late at night ; and where, as it was market-day, and many soldiers were quartered upon the inhabitants, they found it difficult to get lodgings. " Norkoping is a town of considerable size, being reckoned the fourth in Sweden. The number of inhabitants amounts to about 10,000. It has a good deal of commerce. The river Motala runs through it, and is navigable for small vessels nearly up to the town. At the west end of Norkoping the river divides into four distinct streams, which flow with considerable rapidity, and indeed constitute a series of cataracts. These streams all unite in the middle of the town, and form a river of no contemptible size. Norkoping is a manufacturing town, particularly of cloth. There are likewise a great many corn-mills along the river, and a great deal of corn is exported from this city. Indeed it lies at the extremity of by far the finest corn country in all Sweden.

The other manufactures are inconsiderable. There is a sugar-house or two in the town, and a manufactory of snuff."

They left Norköping for Brink. The road through which they travelled this stage, "put them more in mind of Great Britain than any other part of Sweden. It was all cultivated, all divided into corn-fields, and thick scattered with clumps of oak, birch, and other deciduous-leaved trees, while rows of poplars often surrounded the corn-fields, and scarcely any pines were to be seen. The soil was a clay, and appeared very fertile. The corn was mostly cut down, and those fields where it still stood bore an excellent crop."

They proceeded from Brink to Kumla, and from Kumla to Linköping, which is the capital of East Gothland. This, though small, is a much finer-looking town than Norköping. The streets are more regular, and the houses larger and more elegant. There are two churches in the town, both of them large, and rather splendid on the outside. "I was struck," says Dr. Thomson, "with the appearance of a very magnificent theatre there, standing just beside the principal church. To the eye it seemed as large and externally as magnificent as the Opera House in Stockholm. Except at Stockholm and Gottenburg I had not seen any theatre in any of the towns of Sweden. What encouragement a small town like Linköping, which cannot contain 3000 inhabitants, can give sufficient to induce a set of players to take up their residence in it, is very difficult to conceive."

Their next stage was to Barkeberg, through which they passed to Molby, and from thence through Östad to Ödeskog. Leaving the latter place they came "in sight of the lake Vetter, the length of which is 80 and the greatest breadth 18 miles. This lake is said to be about 300 feet above the level of the sea. The cliffs, which run along its eastern side, may be 100 feet higher. According to this reckoning, the height of the centre of Sweden above the level of the sea does not exceed 400 feet. This is a very trifling elevation considering the breadth of the country, which is not much less than 350 English miles." At length they came to the margin of the lake, parallel to which they travelled to Holmaberg. From Holmaberg they travelled again on its margin to Grenna. "It would be difficult to convey an idea of the beautiful scenery here by description. The lake on the west side extends in length further than the eye can reach; but is of such a breadth that your eye catches Billingen and the neighbouring little hills on its west side, which bound the view with a kind of sloping forest. The island of Visingbo, in a south-westerly direction, with its magnificent castle illu-

minated by the sun, breaks in upon the surface of the lake with a fine effect. On the east your view is bounded by a perpendicular cliff near 200 feet high, the summit of which is crowned with wood, while a few small pines here and there rise out of crevices in the perpendicular face of the rock.—Before you reach Grenna you see on the top of the hill the remains of an old castle quite unroofed; but the walls, which are thick and strong, still remain entire. From its situation it must have been a very strong place before the invention of gunpowder. These old castles, which are so common in Scotland and the north of England, are scarcely to be seen in Sweden; this being the only one that occurred to me during the whole course of my travels in that country. To what are we to ascribe this circumstance? To the freedom of the Swedes from all risks of foreign invasion? or to the feudal system, and the independence and the internal wars of the barons having no existence? If the last was the reason, it is very singular that while the power of the nobility was diminishing in every other country of Europe, it should have increased in Sweden. For the history of that country for the last two centuries shows a perpetual struggle between a powerful aristocracy and the authority of the king, which was backed by the affections of the common people.”—We have now followed our travellers through East Gothland, and shall conclude our account by observing, that Dr. Thomson has given a sketch of the mineralogy of it, as far as opportunity permitted him, and that, to assist the reader, he has added a mineralogical map of the province. The distance from Norkoping, the first town in East Gothland, to Grenna, the last, is, according to the route we have been following, about 82 English miles.

Our travellers staid only at Grenna to change horses, after which they proceeded through Roby to Ionkoping, at which latter place they spent the night. Roby is better than eleven miles and a half (English) from Grenna, and Ionkoping better than thirteen miles and a quarter from Roby. Ionkoping is the capital of the province of Smoland. It is a small town, consisting chiefly of two parallel streets, and of about 3000 inhabitants. The houses are almost all of wood, and covered on the roof either with turf or wood. It is beautifully situated upon the south banks of the Vetter, many of the houses standing upon the edge of the water. Each house has a communication with the water behind, and a conveniency erected for washing their linen. *Like all other Swedish towns, Ionkoping has been repeatedly burnt down.* The last accident of this kind happened in 1790, since which time the whole town has been rebuilt. The houses

are still of wood, and large and comfortable. It may surprise the reader to find that the town has been renewed of the same materials; but in a climate like that of Sweden, the inhabitants probably prefer warmth, with a certain risk, to cold with a less degree of it. "In England," says Dr. Thomson, "we have a prejudice against wooden houses on the supposition that they must be very cold: but the Swedish wooden houses are warmer than houses of stone. Entire trees, merely cut into a square form, are used for building the walls, and the joinings of them are made so close by means of moss, that no air whatever can make its way between them. Wood being a worse conductor of heat than bricks, it is obvious that a thick house of wood must be warmer than one made of any other materials."

From Ionkoping Dr. Thomson made an excursion in a one-horse-cart, with a chair in it, to see the famous hill Taberg. He took notes upon the spot, from which he has furnished us with a circumstantial account of it. He has given us also a view or drawing of its shape, together with its accompaniments of wood and water, in the eleventh plate. And that nothing might be wanting on his part to enable the reader to judge of its geological contents, he has laid before him the opinions of Ascanius, Bergman, Tilas, Napioni, Hisinger, and Haussman on the subject. Their observations, he says, in conjunction with his own, seem to remove the doubts that have been hitherto entertained respecting the connection which exists between Taberg and the neighbouring rocks. "The mass of Taberg," says he, "consists of greenstone mixed with much magnetic iron-stone imbedded in gneiss rocks of immense extent. The destructive action of the atmosphere and water on the gneiss, by wearing it away, has converted this bed into an insulated mass laid upon the primitive rocks."

Having satisfied himself relative to the constitution of Taberg, he returned to Ionkoping, from whence he proceeded through Barnarp, Byarum, Skillinggyrad, Klafshult, Varano, Tonno, Dorarp, Ljungby, Hamnedal, Traheryd, Morkaryd, Fagerhult, Orkeljunga, Ostra Ljungby, and Ostorp to Helsinborg. This constituted a journey of 167 English miles. It was a journey, in fact, across the whole province of Smoland. "This," says he, "is the worst peopled part of Sweden, and I suffered a good deal of vexation from the length of time that I was obliged to wait at every stage for horses. I had been warned of this circumstance at Stockholm, and advised to employ a Forbod all the way from Ionkoping to Helsinborg. This advice I neglected to follow, and I suffered for my negligence. I would advise future

travellers, who take this direction, by no means to set out without sending a Forbod to bespeak horses for them at every stage, as by that precaution you get on without any delay, avoid a great deal of very tiresome sauntering, and, by being much sooner at your journey's end, travel upon the whole nearly as cheap as if you had not employed any forerunner." There appears to have been nothing very interesting in this long journey across the province of Smoland, either in the scenery of the country or in the manners of the inhabitants. We collect that over all the Swedish rivers, which are generally small, bridges either of wood or of stone are erected, and that travellers always pay a certain sum by way of pontage on crossing them. These are the only turnpikes in Sweden. We are furnished also with the geognostic structure of Smoland, as far as there was an opportunity of observing it. With respect to Helsingborg, where our travellers had arrived, it is said to be a small and very irregular town, lying on the very margin of the Sound. It can hardly contain above 2000 inhabitants. It seemed to have little or no trade whatever, though it had a pier which ran out a considerable way. When you walk along the shore of the Baltic you do not see the great quantity of sea-weed so abundant on the English coast. A single fucus or two was all that Dr. Thomson could perceive. Nor is there any of that smell which is so perceptible on the coasts of Great Britain and France, which he conceives to proceed chiefly from the sea-weed. This difference is owing, he imagines, to the small quantity of salt which the Baltic contains. It tastes sensibly brackish at the Sound, but not so much so but that he could drink it without any inconvenience. Its temperature on the 10th of October was 54°. The neighbourhood of Helsingborg being the only coal country in Sweden, he had gone thither on purpose to examine it. With respect to what he saw there, and his observations upon the subject, we must refer the reader to the work.

On Sunday, the 11th of October, he left Helsingborg for Gottenburg, the place at which he had first arrived in Sweden. The stages were through Flemminge, Engenholm, Margretetorp, Karup, Karby, Halmstad, Quiville, Sloinge, Falconberg, Mörup, Warberg, Backa, Osa, Konsbacka, and Karra. The road lay along the coast, though seldom within view of the sea, and constituted one of the barest and worst cultivated tracks of all South Sweden. The distance was nearly 155 English miles, and it took him two days and a half to perform it. Of this journey he has furnished us with no account. He has said little more than that soon after his arrival at Gottenburg he went on board the

Lord Nelson packet, and that, after a stormy passage of a week, he landed at Harwich.

Thus ends his tour into Sweden, and with it the reader will naturally conclude the work itself. This, however, is not the case; for, having collected authentic accounts of Swedish Lapland and of the Swedish provinces to the north of Dalecarlia, which he had no time to visit, he has thought it proper to give them to the public. This therefore will oblige us to follow him again, and more especially as these accounts form at least a fourth part of his work. "In the preceding chapters," says he, "I have stated the result of my own observations on those parts of Sweden which I visited. A wish to give as complete a view of that country as possible induces me to add a few observations on the northern provinces, which did not come within the range of my journey; and I begin with Lapland, which is the most northerly and the largest of all."

Dr. Thomson first gives us the length, breadth, and boundaries of Lapland, as it belongs to Russians, Danes and Swedes. He then sub-divides it, after Wahlenberg, into five parts, lying in zones concentric with the Gulf of Bothnia, distinguished from each other by their climate. The first of these zones is called woody, and the second sub-woody Lapland: the third is denominated the sub-alpine, the fourth the lower alpine, and the fifth the higher alpine region. The height of these zones above the level of the sea is then given, as well as of the mountains they contain, the highest of which, Sulitelma, is 6178 feet above the level of the sea. After this follows an interesting dissertation upon temperature, with thermometrical observations made at Umea by Nezen, at Ulea by Juhlin, and at Enontekis by Wahlenberg, from which many important conclusions are drawn on this subject, and particularly as it relates to vegetation. It appears that latitude has not so much to do with temperature as may be imagined. Temperature depends upon seas, and upon mountains in the vicinity of a place, but more especially upon the height of the place above the level of the sea. Temperature is of two sorts, namely, of the earth and of the atmosphere. Where the earth is covered with snow, the temperature of each must be very different. In England, where the snow seldom lies long upon the ground, there is very little difference between the temperature of the surface of the earth and that of the air, for the earth is almost constantly exposed to the influence of the latter: but in Lapland the earth is exposed to the air during the summer only. In winter there, where the atmosphere is severe, the earth is shut out from its influence by the snow. In Lapland, therefore, and

countries similarly situated, the earth's temperature depends upon the temperature of the summer, and the summer temperature constitutes the climate there as far as vegetation is concerned. This having been shown, the following, among other observations, occur. "Both at Upsala and at Enontekis it is necessary that the thermometer be at 39° before the ice gets loose from the banks and is carried by the rivers into the sea. It must be at $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ before barley can be sown, and it must reach $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ before the birch puts forth its leaves. In all those countries, where the mean heat of summer does not amount to $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, the birch cannot vegetate, even though the temperature of the winter be ever so mild.—Small plants in all parts of the world are found to vegetate in places where the summer temperature is too low for trees. Indeed the want of sufficient summer heat is the reason why trees do not grow in alpine regions, and not the violence of winds nor the rigour of winter.—That different plants follow different progressions in different countries, depends upon the heat or length of the summer.—Hence it is of the utmost importance to observe the places where various plants cease to grow, not merely as an object of curiosity, but in order to form an accurate notion of the nature of each climate. The various limits of vegetation are no where better seen than in the alps of Swedish Lapland, especially in that part of it where the land rises slowly, as in Torneo Lapmark, especially in the parish of Enontekis.—Here Dr. Thomson furnishes us with a table, drawn up by Dr. Wahlenberg, for Swedish Lapland, in which he shows the different heights above the level of the sea, and the different temperatures at which different plants are found to grow. This table is very curious; and as he who sees it discovers directly the temperature necessary for the nourishment of every mountainous or highland plant, so he may judge directly, whenever he sees any of the above plants growing, of the temperature of the place in which it is. As to the mineralogical construction of Swedish Lapland, Dr. Thomson was not enabled to procure much information, as it had never been traversed by a professed mineralogist. He examined several specimens of ores which had been brought from thence, but he could not determine from these the different component parts of the whole country.

The Laplanders, if his account be true, which is taken from publications by Linnæus and some Danish missionaries, do not exceed 60,000. They are scattered over an immense tract of 150,000 square miles, so that to every three square miles the country furnishes about one inhabitant. They may be divided

into two sets. Those who inhabit the woody region have fixed habitations, such as they are. They who inhabit the alpine country live in tents, and move from place to place in order to procure food for their rein-deer. They have a language of their own, quite different from the Swedish and likewise from the Finnish; though it bears some analogy to the last, sufficient to induce us to believe that the Laplanders have originated from the Finns. They continued long in a state of paganism, worshipping the various gods who were the objects of veneration in the North, but were converted to Christianity about a century and a half ago.

With respect to their manners and customs, we have not sufficient room left us to detail them; nor is it necessary, as the reader can have access to the work. We shall give, however, one extract from Linnæus's Tour among them, as quoted by Dr. Thomson, which will show at the same time the dismal state of their country and the wretched manner in which they live. He was endeavouring to penetrate into the interior by sailing up the river Eumæa, between 64° and 65° of north latitude, and on the second and third of June. "At length," says he, "we came to a sort of bay or creek of the river, (Umæa) which we were under the necessity of wading through. The water reached above our waist, and was very cold. In the midst of this creek was so deep a hole, that the longest pole could scarcely fathom it. We had no resource but to lay a pole across it, on which we passed over at the hazard of our lives; and indeed, when I reached the other side, I congratulated myself on having had a very narrow escape.

"We had next to pass a marshy tract, almost entirely under water for the course of a mile, nor is it easy to conceive the difficulties of the undertaking. At every step we were knee-deep in water; and if we thought to find a sure footing on some grassy tuft, it proved treacherous, and only sunk us lower. Sometimes we came where no bottom was to be felt, and were obliged to measure back our weary steps. Our half-boots were filled with the coldest water, as the frost in some places still remained in the ground. I wished I had never undertaken my journey; for all the elements seemed adverse. It rained and blowed hard upon us. I wondered that I escaped with life, though certainly not without excessive fatigue and loss of strength."

"After having thus for a long time gone in pursuit of my new Lapland guide, we reposed ourselves about six o'clock in the morning, wrung the water out of our clothes, and dried our

weary limbs, while the cold north wind parched us as much on one side as the fire scorched us on the other, and the gnats kept inflicting their stings. I had now my fill of travelling.

"We now directed our steps towards the desert of Lapmark, not knowing where we went. A man, who lived nearest to the forlorn spot now described, but who had not been at it for twenty years past, went in search of some one to conduct me further, while I rested awhile near a fire. I wished for nothing so much as to be able to go back by water to the place from whence I came; but I dreaded returning to the boat the way we had already passed, knowing my corporeal frame to be not altogether of iron or steel. I would gladly have gone eight or ten miles (sixty or seventy English) by a dry road to the boat, but no such road was here to be found. The hardy Laplanders themselves, born to labour as the birds to fly, could not help complaining, and declared they had never been reduced to such extremity before.

"We waited till about two o'clock in the afternoon for the Laplander I had sent on the expedition above mentioned, who at length returned quite spent with fatigue. He had made the requisite inquiries at many of the huts, but in vain. He was accompanied by a person, whose appearance was such, that at first I did not know whether I beheld a man or a woman. I scarcely believe that any practical description of a Fury could come up to the idea which this Lapland fair excited. It might well be imagined that she was truly of Stygian origin. Her stature was very diminutive; her face of the darkest brown, from the effects of smoke; her eyes dark and sparkling; her eye-brows black; her pitchy-coloured hair hung loose about her head, and on it she wore a flat red cap. She had a gray petticoat; and from her neck, which resembled the skin of a frog, were suspended a pair of large loose breasts of the same brown complexion, but encompassed by way of ornament with brass rings; round her waist she wore a girdle, and on her feet a pair of half-boots.

"Her aspect really struck me with dread; but though a Fury in appearance, she addressed me with mingled pity and reserve in the following terms: 'O thou poor man! what hard destiny can have brought thee hither to a place never visited by any one before? This is the first time I ever beheld a stranger. Thou miserable creature! how didst thou come, and whither wilt thou go? Dost thou not perceive what houses and habitations we have, and with how much difficulty we go to church*?'

* The reader will be surprised as well as grieved at the following extract, by way of note, from the same work. "The clergy have established a

"I entreated her to point out some way by which I might continue my journey in any direction, so as not to be forced to return the way I came. 'Nay, man,' says she, 'thou hast only to go the same way back again; for the river overflows so much, it is not possible for thee to proceed further in this direction. From us thou hast no assistance to expect in the prosecution of thy journey, as my husband, who might have helped thee, is ill. Thou mayest inquire for our next neighbour, who lives about a mile off, and perhaps, if thou shouldest meet with him, he may give thee some assistance; but I really believe it will scarcely be in his power.'

"I inquired how far it was to Sorsela. 'That we do not know,' replied she; 'but in the present state of the roads it is at least seven days journey from hence, as my husband has told me.'

"My strength and health being by this time materially impaired by wading through such an extent of marshes, laden with my apparel and luggage, for the Laplander had enough to do to carry the boat; by walking for whole nights together; by not having for a long time tasted any boiled meat; by drinking a great quantity of water, as nothing else was to be had; and by eating nothing but fish unsalted and crawling with vermin, I must have perished but for a piece of dried and salted rein-deer's flesh, given me by my kind hostess, the clergyman's wife at Lycksele. This food, however, without bread, proved unwholesome and indigestible. How I longed once more to meet with people that fed on spoon-meat! I inquired of this woman whether she could give me any thing to eat? She replied, 'Nothing but fish.' I looked at the fresh fish, as it was called: but perceiving its mouth to be full of maggots, I had no appetite to touch it; but though it thus abated my hunger, it did not recruit my strength. I asked if I could have any rein-deer's tongues, which are commonly dried for sale, and served up even at the tables of the great, but was answered in the negative. 'Have you no cheese made of rein-deer's milk?' said I. 'Yes,' replied she, 'but it is a mile off.' 'If it were here, would you allow me to buy some?' 'I have no desire,' answered the good woman,

kind of despotic authority over the Laplanders. They do not oblige them indeed to go to church every day; but on all festivals and days of public thanksgiving they must either attend church, or be fined ten silver dollars and do penance for three Sundays. On these occasions the poor Laplanders are obliged frequently to go to a distance of thirty or forty miles, and to wade through half-frozen rivers up to the arm-pits, so that they arrive in church half dead with cold and fatigue. What benefit they are likely to derive from attending church in such a condition I leave to the Swedish clergy to decide."

'that thou shouldst die in my country for want of food.' On arriving at her hut I perceived three cheeses lying under a shed without the walls, and took the smallest of them, which she, after some consultation, allowed me to purchase.

"I was at last obliged to return the way I came, though very unwillingly, heartily wishing it might never be my fate to see this place again. It was as bad as a visit to Acheron. If I could have run up the bed of the river like a Laplander, I might have gone on ; but that was impossible."

Dr. Thomson concludes his description of Lapland by the above extract. He then proceeds to give an account of those northern provinces of Sweden above Dalecarlia, which he had no time to visit, as of Jamtland, Dahlsland and Vermeland. This account is almost entirely geological. To this are added two chapters, containing a general view of Sweden, of which the following are the contents. Size and Boundaries of Sweden—Account of the surrounding Seas—Their specific Gravity and Constituents—Size of the Provinces—Lakes—Mountains—Surface of the Country—Rivers—General Geognosy—Formations in Sweden—Metals found in it—Table of the Iron Mines and Works—Climate compared with that of Russia—Winter—Summer—Vegetables—Trees—Fruits—Corn—Domestic Quadrupeds—Wild Quadrupeds—Birds—Fishes—History of Sweden—Its Conquests—Present Territories—Number of Inhabitants—Revenues—Constitution—Army—Resources—Agriculture—Quantity of Land cultivated and its Produce—Number of Horses, Cattle, and Sheep—Manufactures—Iron—Copper—Wood—Tar—East India Monopoly—Situation of Sweden with respect to other Nations, as Russia, Denmark, Britain, France—Her present Interest—Conduct of the Crown Prince—Object which he ought to pursue.—We shall only add, that under these general heads will be found many curious particulars, with which the reader cannot fail of being gratified.

Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn.
By THOMAS CLARKSON, M.A.

[Continued from vol. iii. p. 237.]

IN the 11th Number of THE PHILANTHROPIST we had followed the biographer of this illustrious man through the period of his education, till the impressions were made upon his mind which

finally moulded his character, and conducted him into that path of life in which he trode with such distinguished usefulness.

It would have been extremely desirable to have been able to trace these impressions minutely, and to explain the process by which William Penn became so different from the greater number of his countrymen, especially those of his countrymen who, like him, were born and educated in a situation of rank and affluence. But it is exceedingly unusual to mark with attention the circumstances which operate upon the mind of a young person; and when afterwards it is attempted to recall them, they are too frequently forgotten. Besides, the principles of education, which are now but little understood, were still less understood at the period to which we allude; few were aware of the importance of recording the circumstances which gave its turn to an extraordinary mind, and few were capable of selecting them. With regard to the education of William Penn, we possess only the most common sort of facts, and the conclusions which we may draw from the spirit of the times.

The spirit of the times is by no means to be overlooked. It is always of great importance; and, at the period of which we have to treat, was so remarkable, as to have a great tendency to modify the character of those on whom its influence was exerted. It may be the more useful for us to throw some light upon this important point, that it has not very much been brought into view by the respectable author to whom we are indebted for the instructive volumes before us.

The spirit of those times was to a far greater degree *religious* than that of the present. With minds occupied as ours are occupied, with the affairs, with the pursuits, and with the pleasures of the present life, we can hardly form a conception of the degree in which the minds of many persons in those days were engrossed with the concerns of religion, or of the vast proportion of the people of all descriptions who bore intensely the religious character. Religion was the grand subject of discussion both in conversation and in books. Little had as yet been done in literature, in the moral and political sciences, which could interest the curiosity of men, and divert their thoughts into those sub-lunary channels. The great event of the Reformation had awakened the strongest passions, and given them a religious turn. Religious thoughts occupied innumerable hearts, and religious language issued from innumerable tongues. The house of a naval officer (though the present days are not without such phenomena) was not of all places in the world the most likely to render devotional ideas habitual to the mind of a child. Yet so it

was, that from a very early age a religious turn was impressed upon the character of William Penn. To this the temper of the times must have strongly contributed, whatever particular circumstances may, in his case, have given to it extraordinary power and effects. Religious appearances everywhere met the eyes. A deep sense of religion was universally professed. Devotional exercises and attendance upon public worship were solemnly, scrupulously, and impressively performed. Under this regular discipline, it was not a wonderful thing to contract in early life a religious bias, or to have the sensibility to invisible objects whetted to the keenest edge.

The political events of the period during which the mind of Penn was receiving its formation are also worthy of profound attention. It was the period which elapsed between the trial and execution of Charles the First and the restoration of Charles the Second, including, perhaps, a few of the earliest years of the reign of that latter sovereign. This was undoubtedly a period for engendering thought in the mind of any young person in whose mind the due preparation for thought had at all been made. And it does appear in the mind of Penn to have been productive of very salutary thoughts of more than one description. He had seen, if not the grand struggle for liberty itself, those at least whose recollections of it were keen; he had seen its more immediate effects; he had seen, by treacherous hands vested with the trust of rearing a fabric of liberty, a system of government erected scarcely less arbitrary, less incompatible with the happiness of the people, than that which had been destroyed: this system of misrule, with which all men were disgusted, he had seen dissolve as it were of its own accord; and he had seen the old system again introduced, with all those faults and imperfections which experience had already proved to render it inadequate to its professed and legitimate ends.

This memorable train of events impressed the mind of William Penn with a conviction—not of the evils of independence, but of its unparalleled advantages. And no individual, probably, ever exerted himself more strenuously to procure those advantages to his fellow-creatures. He began with religious independence; but there he did not stop. He saw that liberty was as necessary to the good of man in his political, as in his religious capacity. The frustration of an attempt to establish a government which might secure the due proportion of freedom to men, that is, all the freedom compatible with the well-framed rights of one another, did not persuade him that such a government was a bad thing, or the pursuit of it wrong. It did not

convince him, that in whatsoever the men, calling themselves the Government, are pleased to have a will, other men ought to have, no will at all. With an energy which awed the most insolent, and softened the most obdurate, he asserted the right of having a will for himself; and not only of having, but of *declaring* it in all cases in which it was a will not inconsistent with the good of others. On this foundation, and on this alone, he was persuaded that the fabric of human happiness was capable of being built. Of these sentiments we shall meet with a noble series of practical applications in the course of his memorable career.

The gay and fashionable air with which Mr. Penn had charmed the Admiral his father, upon his return from the Continent, quickly disappeared. "The grave and sedate habits of his countrymen," says Mr. Clarkson, "the religious controversies then afloat, these and other circumstances of a similar tendency had caused the spark which had appeared in him to revive in its wonted strength. He became again a serious person." To counteract these tendencies, it suggested itself to his father, as a happy expedient, to remove him out of the way and give him occupation, by sending him to superintend some estates of his in Ireland. But here he met with Thomas Loe the Quaker, by whose preaching and conversation his connexion with that sect of Christians was made closer than before.

He was at one of their religious meetings on the 3d of September 1667, when he was first called upon to enter that field of suffering and of action in which he so nobly struggled for the independence of himself and of his fellow men. To explain the series of events which now ensued, it is necessary that a few particulars from the history of that period should be shortly premised.

The religious spirit, which we have described as marking strongly the times of which it is now our business to speak, was accompanied by a persecuting spirit, one of the most atrocious and mischievous which is liable to be engendered in the human breast. The union of the two rendered the age in question not a happy and delightful scene, but one of the most wretched and hateful which the page of history presents to our view. From the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth downwards, there had been carried on by the government and by the established church in conjunction, an unrelenting persecution which, if it destroyed not the kingdom with that species of raging fever which distinguished the reign of Mary, wasted it by the equally sure and not less dreadful process of a deep and silent consumption. The resolution was adopted by the government and the church, and that in the true spirit of popery and despotism, to allow of

no dissent. There was to be no religion in the kingdom but one. The Church of England was to be exclusive. Whoever would not conform to the ceremonies and doctrines of the Church was to suffer punishment. This principle did not remain a dead letter. To no point was the zeal of Government more strongly directed for a long series of years. It is unhappily out of our power to communicate so much as a faint idea of the sufferings which were inflicted by this horrid persecution, and the misery which it created. Mr. Neal has filled four large volumes with the history of only a part of them. That work, *The History of the Puritans*, is one of the most valuable gifts, considering the importance of the matter and the accuracy of the record, which any country has at any time received from the press. It ought to be matter of shame to every person arrived at the years of discretion, and who has the means of perusing the book, not to have stored his memory with the facts which it contains. If civil and religious liberty are of any value to mankind, the sufferings recorded in Neal's History of the Puritans form the most instructive page in the annals of our country.

The more conspicuous and alarming, and therefore less dangerous modes of cruelty, which had left in the nation an impression of horror with regard to the reign of Mary, were avoided. But to be stripped of a man's goods, to see his family reduced to nakedness and hunger, to be immured in dungeons, and to sustain all the studied barbarities of *English prisons*, and English prisons of those days, till in sickness, in want, in filth and in sorrow, the lamp of life was extinguished, was not a milder lot than terminating quickly one's miseries at the stake; it was far more calamitous and dreadful. Numerous were the meritorious individuals upon whom the highest measure of this worst species of cruelty was heaped. Still more numerous were the individuals whose sufferings approached to all the horror of that highest pitch of wretchedness. Calamity overspread the nation. The whole of that portion of the population whose consciences revolted at the doctrines or ceremonies of the Church, were either placed under the highest suffering, or lived in the perpetual apprehension of it. The lot of the persons who dreaded was only less afflictive than that of the persons who were enduring the hands of the persecutor. These were the scenes which, after ages of suffering, prepared the minds of a large portion of the people for resistance to the Government, and produced the memorable events of the reign of Charles the First. It is according to the principles of human nature to expect, in such a situation, relief from *change*, from almost any change that can be proposed. The man who is suf-

tering by disease turns from side to side upon his bed, and though perpetually disappointed, perpetually expects a mitigation of his pain from every alteration of his position.

Upon the restoration of Charles the Second it was speedily found that the Government and the Church had not learned wisdom by experience, not even by misfortune. The spirit of persecution continued. Nothing less than a monopoly of the minds of the people would satisfy the clergy. A monopoly of the minds of the people was calculated to render the power of the clergy unbounded. An unlimited permission to break their monopoly might reduce their power to very moderate limits. The clergy had therefore a danger to guard against, and they had a quarrel to avenge. Partly from his good, partly from his bad dispositions, Charles the Second had no propensity of his own to persecute. But as he was totally destitute of regard for his fellow creatures, if it was to ease him of the trouble of importunity, he easily consented to let others persecute. Those whose minds were the most bigoted to the old forms of the church and the state, were those who at this time were regarded as the firmest friends to the government and highest in power. On the minds of such men it was easy to make the arguments for persecution operate, and non-conformity to the Church was again made the object of penal pursuit.

While attending a meeting of the Quakers during his residence in Ireland in 1667, "William Penn was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation in 1660, against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor." The term *tumultuous assemblies* was made to include all assemblies for religious worship, which the persons in power had a wish to persecute. When any one is to be oppressed, the first thing necessary is, to give a bad name to him or his actions, or both; and then is the way for all manner of injustice towards him paved and rendered easy.

"The mayor looking at Mr. Penn, and observing that he was not clothed as others of the society were, offered him his liberty, if he would give bond for his good behaviour." But the views of Penn even at this early age were too comprehensive and elevated, to be content with exemption to himself when others were left to suffering. He declined the partial favour, and with eighteen others was committed to prison. To put an end to injustice, not by physical but by moral resistance, not by the hands but the head, not by fighting against it but by making it known, by holding it forth to the perceptions and condemnation of mankind, was the maxim and rule of the society with whom Penn had now pretty closely connected himself. He did not lie silent and inactive in

prison. He wrote a bold remonstrance to Lord Orrery, then president of the Council of Munster : " Religion, he said, which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but mine own free man." In consequence of this letter he was discharged.

It is remarked that this, which was the first act of persecution William Penn endured, produced a more open and unambiguous union between him and the Quakers than had previously taken place. It is good that rulers should know these facts. If rulers are to be taught like other men by experience, they may thence in time learn wisdom.

William was now recalled to a trial of a different sort. His father, informed that the experiment of sending him to Ireland had entirely failed, brought him back to England, and made a renewed effort to recover him from that path of worldly degradation into which he lamented to see him stray. The mind of the admiral was somewhat oddly situated. He had not much of the sense of religion, and he was attached to the honours and distinctions of the world, which he vehemently coveted both for himself and for his son. Yet he respected the rights of conscience, and felt tenderness toward the person of the refractory youth. Without insisting upon the abandonment of the principles which the young convert had imbibed, the admiral at last restricted his conditions to this simple point, that his son William should consent to keep his hat off in the presence of the king, the duke of York, and, what may appear a little ludicrous, in the presence of himself. In this struggle it sufficiently appears that William deported himself with the utmost forbearance and respect. When this, which was supposed a very small concession, was, after time taken to deliberate, steadily refused, the patience of the admiral could hold out no longer, and his son was again banished from his house.

If any thing yet was wanting to the final decision of William, it was furnished now. He hesitated no longer, but assumed the character of a public teacher, or minister of the Gospel, among the people to whose opinions he inclined. It was his persuasion that the Gospel had been corrupted by the fancied ornaments and refinements of men ; that it was incapable of answering its destined purposes till it was brought back to its primeval simplicity ; and that the Society of Friends were the instruments ordained by God to effect this beneficent restoration. He was now twenty-four years of age, when he appeared in the character both of a preacher and an author. His first work, published in 1668,

bore the title of "*Truth exalted, in a short but sure testimony against all those Religions, Faiths, and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the darkness of Apostasy, and for that glorious Light which is now risen and shines forth in the life and doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old way of life and salvation.*" For the confidence with which the truth of his own opinions, and the falsehood of other men's opinions, are here as well as in the body of the work assumed, the mild character of his biographer has induced him to offer an apology. It is true that we in the present day are accustomed to express our opinions with more of an air of deference to one another; and as far as this tends to preserve harmonious feelings, it is an improvement of great account. It has however another tendency; which is, to beget insincerity, and a facility in compromising useful truth; a tendency which, during an age when through the power of corruption principle is greatly relaxed, may coöperate powerfully to the intellectual, moral, and political depravation of a people.

Among the various modes in which the religious controversies of the times were carried on, and in which the religious parties desired to manifest their superiority to one another, the mode of oral disputation was employed. The Quakers like other sects received or offered challenges; and several occasions on which William Penn entered the lists as champion are here recorded. These disputes appear not to have answered any useful purpose. They produced in general clamour rather than argument; and as in point of numbers the Quakers were commonly the inferior part of the assembly, they were subdued by noise and insult, when reason was not sufficient for the purpose.

Having been by these means defeated in a public dispute with one Thomas Vincent, the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Spitalfields, he had recourse to the press in a pamphlet entitled "*The Sandy Foundation shaken: or, Those so generally received and applauded doctrines, of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; of the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; and of the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, refuted from the authority of Scripture testimonies and right reason.*" This pamphlet being supposed to controvert the common opinions respecting the Trinity gave great offence to some of the prelates, and particularly to the Bishop of London, and the consequence was that William Penn was soon afterwards apprehended and sent as a prisoner to the Tower.

"In this his new habitation he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept in close confinement, but no one of his friends was permitted to have access to him. A report was conveyed to him, to aggravate his sufferings, that the Bishop of London had resolved that he should either publicly recant, or die in prison. But his conduct was like that of all who suffer for conscience-sake. He was too sincere in his faith to be changed by such treatment. The law of force, the old State-argument in such cases, never conquered religious error. In his reply to the Bishop of London, instead of making any mean concession, he gave him in substance to understand, 'that he would weary out the malice of his enemies by his patience; that great and good things were seldom obtained without loss and hardships; that the man, who would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; and that his prison should be his grave, before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man.'"

During this confinement, however, he was not idle; for he wrote the first edition of his famous work entitled "No Cross, no Crown, a work which gave general satisfaction, and which in his own lifetime passed through several editions." But he seems to have owed his liberty to another publication under the title of "Innocency with her open Face, presented by way of apology for the book entitled *The Sandy Foundation shaken*."

"In this new work he reviewed the three subjects which constituted the contents of the former. He argued as before against the notion of the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction, which was one of them; and also against that of the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, which was another; and he appealed additionally to the high authority of Stillingfleet, in his late discourse about Christ's sufferings, against Crellius, in his favour. With respect to the third notion, he maintained that he had been misunderstood. A conclusion had been drawn that, because he had denied one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons, he had denied the divinity of Christ. He cited, therefore, several passages from Scripture to prove that Christ was God. This doctrine, he asserted, was an article of his own faith; and as a proof that it had been so, he desired those who thought otherwise to consult his 'Guide mistaken,' which he had published before 'The Sandy Foundation shaken,' and in which they would find that he had acknowledged both the divinity and eternity of Christ. His enemies, therefore, he said, had been beating the air and fighting with their own shadows, in supposing what he himself had neither written, nor even thought of. These were concisely the contents of his last work. When it came out, it is said to have given satisfaction. Some, however, of his enemies contended that he had disgraced himself by producing it;

that he had read his own recantation in it ; and that from a Socinian he had, all at once, become a defender of the Trinity. They, however, who asserted this, did not know that he rejected the latter doctrine, merely on account of the terms in which it had been wrapped up by Vincent ; terms which, he said, were the inventions of men three hundred years after the Christian æra, and which were no where to be found in the Scriptures. In this respect, that is, as far as the doctrine comprehended three separate persons in one God, he uniformly rejected it ; but he never denied that of 'a Father, Word, and Spirit.'"

He continued seven months a prisoner, and was discharged by the King, at the intercession of his brother James, then Duke of York, of whom the admiral was a favourite. Penn himself wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, by whose warrant he was confined. From it Mr. Clarkson selects the following sentiments.

"He is at a loss to imagine how a diversity of religious opinions can affect the safety of the State, seeing that kingdoms and commonwealths have lived under the balance of divers parties.—He conceives that they only are unfit for political society, who maintain principles subversive of industry, fidelity, justice, and obedience ; but to say that men must form their faith of things proper to another world according to the prescriptions of other mortal men in this, and, if they do not, that they have no right to be at liberty or to live in this, is both ridiculous and dangerous.—He maintains that the understanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are adequate to its own nature. Force may make hypocrites, but can make no converts ; and if, says he, I am at any time convinced, I will pay the honour of it to truth, and not to base and timorous hypocrisy.—He then desires, as many of his enemies have retracted their opinions about him, and as his imprisonment is against the privileges of an Englishman as well as against the forbearance inseparable from true Christianity, that he may receive his discharge. Should this be denied him, he begs access to the King ; and if this should be denied him also, he hopes the Lord Arlington will himself hear him against such objections as may be thought weighty ; so that, if he is to continue a prisoner, it may be known for what. He makes, he says, no apology for his letter, the usual style of suppliants, because he conceives that more honour will accrue to the Lord Arlington by being just, than advantage to himself as an individual by becoming personally free."

On these propositions much of comment is surely not required. They contain the reasons for the unrestrained publication of thought, expressed almost as clearly and as fully as it is possible to express them, after the improvement of so many years. If any thing contrary to political tranquillity were inherent in diversity of religious sects, which it is not, for all sects are equally interested

in the benefits of a good government; undoubtedly the multiplication of those sects, and the balance which one provides against another, would afford a perfect security against that danger.

The second proposition, which is tantamount to this, that opinions which affect not a man's conduct in society ought not to be restrained, will not, it is probable, in the present day, meet with any denial. Occasion, however, is taken to raise a controversy about the application of it. Religious opinions, it is said, *do* affect a man's conduct in society, and for that very reason religious opinions *ought* to be under the control of the magistrate. This proposition is plausible, and affords a colour to those who are interested in the continuance of restriction. We doubt not that it imposes upon many. The case deserves every man's consideration.

The right of restriction, as thus claimed, embraces the whole field of thought. Opinions which have no influence, direct or indirect, upon human felicity, are useless opinions. It is idle to pronounce them. The proposition therefore, by which the magistrate claims the right of prescribing in the department of religious thought, entitles him to prescribe in every department of thought. It gives him despotic power over thought. If the advocates for the restraint of religious opinions claim this power, we know what to think of them. If they do not claim it, their proposition is acknowledged to be fallacious and mischievous. And if so, it is not true that the magistrate, because religious opinions have an influence upon society, is entitled to punish for them.

What then, we shall be asked, Would you allow free course to the propagation of error, and to all the mischief of which it may be the source?

To this we answer in the following manner: We would exert ourselves to prevent the propagation of error, and the production of mischief. But in guarding against one evil we would not adopt means which would produce a greater.

The evils of an unrestrained propagation of error are something. But the evils of a despotic power over thought, committed to the magistrate, are infinite. Certainly, therefore, we would not adopt that expedient for restraining the propagation of error.

Means, however, there are, the most effectual application of which we should carefully study. Truth is natural to the human mind. We should propagate truth, which would gain the victory over error, and reduce its empire to narrow bounds. We know that in the free publication of opinions there is provided a mighty power for the destruction of error. Where sects are numerous, as soon as a false opinion is propagated by one, it is assailed by the

rest. Its absurdity and weakness are therefore quickly made appear. It is an important truth, that no man adheres to an error for its own sake. He adheres to it, either because he knows not that it is an error, or because it is an error favourable to his interests. By every man of sound intellects, the fallacy of such erroneous opinions as it is incident to him to form, is capable of being seen. All that in the first case, therefore, is necessary, is to expose the fallacy of erroneous opinions, when the man who has no interest in them will give them up. With regard to the men who have an interest in erroneous opinions, it is the business of government so to order matters that few of that unhappy description of persons shall be found. Interest in error is created by unhappy arrangements of government. Under a perfect government no man would have an interest in mischievous opinions. A government has more or less of the qualities of perfection, in proportion as the number of persons under it, who have an interest in mischievous opinions, is great or small. Where the government therefore is good, and the publication of opinions is free, few errors will prevail.

Such is the residue of evil which it may perhaps be impossible to prevent on the one side. Observe, on the other, the torrent of evil to which a passage is opened by placing power over thought in the hands of the magistrate.

In the first place, the magistrate is as liable to be *mistaken* in the choice of opinions, as other men in general. The mischief, therefore, of erroneous opinions is by no means excluded by giving to the magistrate the choice. He is much more liable to be mistaken than *certain* men, because accuracy of judgement depends upon habits of studying and comparing; and, compared with the men in question, the magistrate has far less time and inclination to study and compare. The opinions of the *wisest men* are those which, under the influence of freedom, have the best chance to become the opinions of the *public*; because they are the truest, and the most agreeable to experience and fact. It follows by force of reason, that the public is a much better judge of opinions than the magistrate. When the choice is left to the public, there is much less chance for the prevalence of error in the long run, than when it is confined to the magistrate.

Such is the conclusion to which we must arrive, were the interests of the magistrate left altogether out of the question. But the interests of the magistrate are the grand determining consideration. Now what are the interests of the magistrate? That the opinions of the people whom he governs should, in all the most important departments of thought, be entirely wrong. It is his in-

terest that the whole train of their thoughts should favour as much as possible the existence or augmentation of his power, whatever may be the use which he makes of it. If he has the command of thought, it is his interest to take care that no opinions hostile to unlimited power, that all sorts of opinions favourable to unlimited power, shall be propagated. With regard to religion, (which is our present topic,) it is his interest to establish all those false opinions which enthral the minds of men, and render them dependent upon the clergy; being enabled to hold the clergy by their interests dependent upon himself. Give to the magistrate, therefore, the power of determining what opinions shall be published, what shall not; and the natural consequence is, that not a sentiment shall ever be heard in opposition to those opinions by which arbitrary power is maintained. Of all possible expedients this would be the most effectual for rendering despotism universal, and its duration without limit. Mankind would every where be slaves; slaves to power without, and to error within. Misery and corruption, both physical and mental, would, in their most hateful forms, overspread the earth.

That there is greater danger in leaving opinions to the result of free discussion, than in submitting them to the choice of any set of men, is one of the most mischievous errors that ever was propagated upon earth; an error of the most singular efficacy to entail upon mankind the worst of all the evils to which human nature is liable.

The next great occurrence, in the life of William Penn, is one of the most important and memorable events in the history of England; and deserves that every man should take pains to plant a true and durable conception of it in his mind.

We have already taken a slight notice of the unwearied persecution which the Church of England, and at her instigation, or with her co-operation, the civil powers, had, from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, carried on against such of the people as conformed not with the established system of belief and ceremonies. The avowed purpose was to permit the existence of no persons who dissented from the church. The means of extermination were not those violent ones of burning alive, which had been tried so unsuccessfully in the reign of Mary. It was pretty distinctly perceived that the nation would not endure them. Other punishments, less horrid in appearance, less calculated to rouse the boiling sympathies of mankind, more apt to lull the attention of those who dreaded them not, were substituted and employed. The ruin of a man's condition in life, the ruin of his fortunes, of his health, and of his family, by fines, confiscations, and deadly imprisonments, were events that passed calmly and without noise.

In an unjust and unfeeling age, it was thought very proper to treat after that manner a man who differed with one's self in opinion. Such was the course of transaction throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and the reigns of the two first Stuarts; till the rebellion, roused by the progress of religious and political despotism, produced a sort of intermission. Immediately upon the Restoration the same course began; and the business of persecution, in the style which the Church of England had found it most advisable to adopt, that is, by the method of slow torture rather than sanguinary dispatch, was prosecuted with the utmost vigour.

"In the year 1670," says Mr. Clarkson, "the famous Conventicle Act was passed by Parliament; which prohibited Dissenters from worshipping God in their own way. It had been first suggested by some of the bishops. The chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury had previously printed a discourse against toleration, in which he asserted, as a main principle, that it would be less injurious to the Government *to dispense with profane and loose persons*, than to allow a toleration to religious Dissenters."

This passage cannot fail to excite a cloud of reflections. The object, religious persecution; the parties by whom it was principally driven forward, the leaders of the church; the doctrines by which it was supported, trampling upon piety and morality, in the way to the perpetration of torture and death; constitute an association of ideas, than which a more instructive the pages of history cannot supply.

"*Profane and loose persons*," according to the doctrines delivered in those days, from the most fashionable and authoritative quarters of the church, were better members of society than "*religious Dissenters*." But religious dissenters were then, as they are now, a class of men distinguished by their superiority in piety and morals. It was not, then, for the interests of piety and morality, that the priests so vehemently desired the extermination of the dissenters.—That loose and profane persons, who believed what the priests desired them to believe, made no defalcation from priestly power; while pious and virtuous men, who believed as their own minds directed, did make a defalcation from priestly power, that is what we distinctly perceive, and most readily allow. But one would hardly have expected so frank a confession of the preference of immorality, to any form of godliness which was not adapted to priestly purposes.

By this statute, for statute it was, and the legislature has the honour of it, every assemblage of persons beyond five, in addition to those of the same family, for religious purposes, out of the routine of the church service, were declared conventicles; and

every person who attended a conventicle was subjected, for his first offence, to a fine of five pounds or three months imprisonment; for his second offence, to a fine of ten pounds or six months imprisonment; and for his third, to a fine of one hundred pounds or transportation for seven years. The preacher was amerced twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second, with other proportional severities. A prohibition was also issued against every dissenting teacher from coming within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where he had formerly preached, under the penalty of fifty pounds and six months imprisonment. The person in whose house the conventicle met was punished with the same severity as the teacher.

"One clause," says Hume, "is remarkable; that, if any dispute should arise with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges should always explain the doubt in the sense least favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of Parliament entirely to suppress them. Such was the zeal of the Commons, that they violated the plainest and most established maxims of civil policy, which require, that in all criminal prosecutions favour should always be given to the prisoner."

Nothing can more strongly mark the spirit of injustice which then directed the public councils. Under the uncertainties which, if they exist not, a judge, with statutes worded as ours, and a system of procedure like the English, can never find it difficult to create, this was giving to all judges a license, and holding up to them encouragement, to sacrifice every dissenter who was brought before them. We shall presently see how they followed their instructions.

Nor was this all. "This act," says Thomas Ellwood, as quoted by Mr. Clarkson, "brake down and overran the bounds and banks anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties, and properties, namely, trials by jury; instead thereof, directing and authorising justices of the peace (and that, too, privately out of sessions) to convict, fine, and by their warrants distrain upon offenders against it."

Upon proceeding, on the 14th of August, to their meeting-house in Gracechurch-street, the Quakers found it shut, and guarded by a band of soldiers. A considerable concourse by degrees collected in the street, to whom, as they were prevented from entering the house, William Penn began to preach. He had not proceeded far when he and William Mead were seized by constables, and imprisoned in Newgate. Their trial commenced at the following sessions at the Old Bailey, on the 1st of September.

If ever there was a memorable exhibition of human conduct, of the firmness and nobleness of innocence and wisdom under oppression, of the meanness and disgustfulness of folly and injustice armed with power, such a spectacle in full perfection was presented on that occasion, and stands on record for the instruction of all succeeding ages. We shall not be afraid of incurring with our readers the charge of tediousness or unprofitableness, if we go, as we intend to go, at considerable length into the important incidents of this never-to-be-forgotten trial, and the mighty lessons which it proclaims.

They were not indicted upon the statute. And the reason seems to have been, that it was intended to punish them more severely than even the statute ordained. The indictment set forth, that they "with force and arms, and unlawfully and tumultuously did assemble that William Penn did take upon himself to preach and speak, by reason whereof a great concourse and tumult of people did continue in contempt of the said lord the king and of his law, to the great disturbance of his peace, to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege people and subjects, and against the peace of the said lord the king, his crown and dignity."

Mr. Clarkson charges several of the allegations in this instrument of accusation, with "falsehood;" and surely with sufficient reason; for it cannot be pretended that falsehood ceases to be falsehood, because it makes a fixed and regular part of the discourses invented by lawyers. It was not the less untrue and false that William Penn and his friends assembled with force and arms, because lawyers are accustomed to affirm the same thing in thousands of other cases where it is equally false. An instrument of accusation should not be stuffed with falsehoods because it suits the purposes of lawyers. This is to pollute the judgement-seat with that which is in the highest degree contrary to its ends. Truth is the instrument through which the ends of justice are to be accomplished; and upon the judgement-seat is thus exhibited the highest and most impressive example of the contempt of truth. Who is so ignorant of human nature as not to know the effect which this must produce upon the multitude by whom it is beheld? The utter disregard of truth, the voluntary election of untruth, the gratuitous preference of falsehood, which is shown in a large proportion of the instruments or forms which the lawyers have invented for the administration of justice, must weaken prodigiously the reverence for truth in the breasts of all those who enter the courts. Not to speak of those who are the hackneyed instruments in those courts, and who must

take their character from their habits of transaction, it cannot fail to appear to suitors and witnesses, that what is venial in their rulers cannot be criminal in themselves, and that of the benefits of falsehood they too may put in for a share. We have not a doubt that through this cause the quantity of wilful misinformation, that is, judicial falsehood, which is given to the courts of justice, is prodigiously increased, and with it, of course, the quantity of misdecision and failure of justice. Nay, more; it is impossible to doubt that the very character of the nation, as to truth and falsehood, is tainted by it, and kept below the standard of perfection and purity to which it would otherwise ascend. No one can be ignorant in what degree the moral character of the people depends upon the administration of justice, and how necessarily it receives a taint from any immoral tendencies which the modes of administering justice may retain.

Passing by other circumstances of contumely and hardship, we shall pass on to the commencement of the trial.

"*Clerk.* Bring William Penn and William Mead to the bar.

"*Mayor.* Sirrah, who bid you put off their hats? Put on their hats again.

"*Recorder.* Do you know where you are?

"*Penn.* Yes.

"*Recorder.* Do not you know that it is the King's Court?

"*Penn.* I know it to be a Court; and I suppose it to be the King's Court.

"*Recorder.* Do not you know there is respect due to the Court?

"*Penn.* Yes.

"*Recorder.* Why do you not pay it, then?

"*Penn.* I do so.

"*Recorder.* Why do you not pull off your hat then?

"*Penn.* Because I do not believe that to be any respect.

"*Recorder.* Well, the Court sets forty marks apiece upon your heads, as a fine for your contempt of the Court.

"*Penn.* I desire it may be observed, that we came into the Court with our hats off, (that is, taken off,) and if they have been put on since, it was by order from the Bench; and therefore not we, but the Bench should be fined."

This part of the procedure requires no comment. The Court well knew that no contempt was expressed by the hats on the heads of the prisoners. As justly and truly might they have been charged with murder or treason. Of this the Court were thoroughly persuaded. A false pretence was set up, wilfully and deliberately set up, by those who were calling themselves

the ministers of justice, to add to the oppression of innocent men.

After some witnesses had been heard to the facts of the meeting in Gracechurch-street, William Penn cut the matter short, by avowing the facts, and demanding to hear the law which made them criminal. This is a point of primary importance. William Penn challenged the Court to produce any law which condemned him, and they were unable.

It is to Mr. Bentham we owe the invaluable disclosures which set the distinction between written law and unwritten law in the most perfect light. He has shown that *unwritten* law, what is called in England *common law*; that is, law which verbally has no existence, is deprived of almost all the characters by which the excellence of law can be described. It is essentially changeable, ambiguous, uncertain, and subject to the arbitrary determination of the judge; who truly, and in fact, makes the law by which he decides—makes it for the particular occasion—makes it *ex post facto*—makes it, with fresh modifications, for each occasion as it occurs. It is the sort of law which exists in the most barbarous periods, before men have acquired the art or learned the use of writing. One would naturally suppose that one of the first employments which would be made of writing, would be to give a positive, a precise and definite existence to laws; because, in fact, it is only in proportion to its precision and definiteness that, properly, existence can be predicated of a law. A law to do something, nobody knows what, is not a law. It is only in proportion as that something is pointed out, and distinguished from other things; in other words defined, that the character of a law is conferred. The time surely will come, when it will be deemed a monstrous fact, that the greater part of what is called English law, of what is acted upon as English law, and upon which the lives and fortunes of the English people depend, is still *unwritten*, has no verbal, that is, no real existence; no better existence than that sort of imaginary existence which is formed by the inferences of the judge, inferring pretty much as he pleases from the preceding practice of the Court. This makes it an admirable law for such purposes of oppression as those to which in the case before us it was so vigorously applied. It makes it equally admirable for the multiplication of law-suits, and of all those incidents by which the profits of lawyers are augmented. To not one of the ends of justice is that particular shape any other than diametrically opposite.

What in the case of Penn is truly remarkable is, that he had a very clear and determinate conception of the imperfection, or

rather of the non-entity of unwritten law, and expressed that conception with much confidence and strength. The passage is of the highest importance, both as it throws a light upon the science, and existing state, of law, and as it illustrates the magnanimity and intellect of Penn.

" *Penn.* We confess ourselves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the world that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty, to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us.

" *Brown* (one of the Sheriffs). You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law.

" *Penn.* I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge. And, to the end that the Bench, the jury and myself, with those that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me know by *what law* it is you prosecute me, and upon what law you ground your indictment.

" *Recorder.* Upon the common law.

" *Penn.* Where is that common law?

" *Recorder.* You must not think that I am able to run up so many years, and over so many adjudged cases, which we call common law, to answer your curiosity.

" *Penn.* The answer, I am sure, is very short of my question; for, if it be common, it should not be so hard to produce.

" *Recorder.* Sir, will you plead to the indictment?

" *Penn.* Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law? since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt or contrary of my fact.

" *Recorder.* You are a saucy fellow; speak to the indictment.

" *Penn.* I say it is my place to speak to matter of law. I am arraigned, a prisoner. My liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned. You are many mouths, and ears, against me; and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my case, it is hard.—I say again, Unless you show me, and the people, *the law* you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted *your proceedings are merely arbitrary.*

" *Recorder.* The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment?

" *Penn.* The question is not, whether I am guilty of this indictment—but whether this indictment be legal? It is too general and imperfect an answer to say, "it is the common law;" unless we

knew both *where* and *what* it is. For, where there is no law, there is no transgression. And that law, *which is not in being*, is so far from being common, that it is *no law at all*.

"Recorder. You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the Court what law is? It is *Lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know; and would you have me to tell you in a moment?

"Penn. Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common: but if the Lord Coke in his *Institutes* be of any consideration, he tells us that 'common law is common right.'

"Recorder. Sir, you are a troublesome fellow; and it is not *for the honour* of the Court to suffer you to go on.

"Penn. I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.

"Recorder. If I should suffer you to ask questions till tomorrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

"Penn. That is according as the answers are.

"Recorder. Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

"Penn. I design no affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just plea. And I must plainly tell you—that if you will deny me *oyster* of that law which you say I have broken—you do at once deny me an acknowledged right; and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your sinister and arbitrary designs.

"Recorder. Take him away. My Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing tonight.

"Mayor. Take him away; take him away. Turn him into the bale-dock.

"Penn. These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice, or true judgement? Must I therefore be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? &c."

We shall here pause, to make some observations upon this part (which makes a distinct subject by itself) of this ever-memorable trial. The first reflection which strikes the reader, and it is calculated to strike him with singular force, is the two appearances which are exhibited: that of Penn, on the one hand, demanding knowledge of the law upon which he was prosecuted; and that of the Court evading his demand, refusing to comply with it, and thereby confessing that they had no real law to produce, nothing but an imaginary law: that is, as Penn very justly observed, arbitrary will; arbitrary will, in some cases more, in some cases less circumscribed by the beaten track of decisions, but in all cases possessing many of the characteristics of arbitrary will, and liable to be followed by many of its pernicious effects.

Besides the singular contrast exhibited to all ages of the prisoner standing nobly and magnanimously upon the high 'vantage ground of justice, demanding not to be punished by a law which could not be produced; and the Court standing upon the low, untenable ground of shifts, evasions, and a law that could not be produced;—the language and deportment of the two parties are singularly marked and distinguished. That of Penn, the clear, sober, manly language of intelligence, justice, and decorum. That of the Court, vulgar abuse. When they could not answer him by reason, they resorted to the usual expedient, of silencing him by reproaches. Instead of an argument, which could not be given, they gave him an opprobrious name, and ordered him not to speak. The one exhibiting the behaviour of the noblest; the other, of the meanest among mankind.

"You are not here for worshipping God," said Brown, "but for breaking the law;" attempting to confound the truth by a quibble. What was the law, the existence of which he assumed, though it had no existence, but a law declaring it punishable to worship God? To be punished, then, for violating such a law, was literally to be punished for worshipping God. Otherwise, no man is ever guilty of, or punished for, any specific crime; theft, murder, and the like. All crimes are one and the same, and all punishments are for one and the same thing; violation of the law. It follows that they ought all to be punished in the same way; as there is only one crime, that there should be only one punishment; the mere violation of law being the same in all cases. Such are the absurdities into which men are driven when it is a bad cause they are striving to uphold!

William Penn had another answer, an answer fraught with instruction; an answer, the matter of which is not less important now than it was at the time when it was first delivered. "You have no law," said he, "which it is in your power to produce, and to show that I have violated." "We have the 'common law,'" said the Court. "Where is it?" said Penn. "In what words is it couched? Show it to me, to the jury, and to this assembly." By their deportment the Court were obliged to declare "that it existed no where, that it was couched in no words. It was '*lex non scripta*,' and it could be produced to no body." "But a law," said Penn, with invincible force of reason, "a law which is not in being, is not a law at all." Such a law is a mere *fiction*. It is very true that courts of law may act upon fictions. But it is an unhappy case when men's lives and fortunes depend upon the fictions of Judges.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the ground which on this oc-

casion was taken with so much advantage by Penn has not been taken by other defendants, on occasions to which his arguments apply with equal strength. On the occasion, for example, of a trial for what they call a libel : if any defendant, after the example of Penn, were to demand *oyer of the law* ; the Court would find itself in the same perplexity as the Court which presided at the trial of Penn. The Court of the present day, however, would conduct itself with more address. It would not shock the public feeling by the coarseness and brutality of its deportment. It would not call the man who had thrown it into its perplexity "a saucy fellow," or "a pestilent fellow," and order him to be dragged into the bale-dock. It would preserve all the forms of decorum, it would preserve the *forms* even of tenderness and condescension towards the defendant ; and it would by that means only add to its advantages over him. It would be unable to produce the law. What is called the law of libel, is a law of which existence can as little be predicated as of that law which Penn in vain demanded to hear. They are both of them fictions of the same nature. They are laws not in tenor, but by inference. They are laws not of reality, but of assumption. They are ideal entities. But the Court of the present time would be too skilful to give an answer of which the poverty and nakedness should be as glaring as that of the Judge who replied to Penn. It would pronounce a panegyric upon the English jurisprudence, perhaps upon the English constitution. This, to be sure, would have nothing to do with the point in question ; but it would appear to have. The Court would then show to what extent the operation of this same common law, this "*lex non scripta*," goes. It would say, Does not the legislature rest upon this foundation ? Are not the laws, which protect every one of you from the robber, the thief, and the murderer, of the same description ? Do not your estates, do not your privileges, exist almost wholly by that same authority ? This would all be very true and very decorous ; and to a great many persons, enforced as it would come by the authority of the personage from whose lips it would flow, would appear to carry along with it the conclusion at which it aimed ; and the Court would triumph. The matter of fact all the time would be, that the answer was only an evasion. A thing is not proved to be what ought to be, by proving that it has an extensive existence. If the English law were every article of it common, unwritten, unproducible ; all the imperfections which adhere to that species of law would not be the less real ; nor would the mischief of those imperfections be lessened by their extent, but only increased. The Court however would say, Is

not the English jurisprudence as it exists, its defects counted along with its perfections, the best system of law which the world ever beheld ? We should have no hesitation in declaring that we think it *one* of the best. Whether it is the very best ; whether, for example, it is better than that of the United States ; whether it is better than that of Scotland is, or than that of Holland was, taking it upon the ground of its capacity to sustain national prosperity, the inhabitants of these same countries might perhaps be justifiable in holding as doubtful. But the state of imperfection in which law has hitherto remained in all countries, proves but little with regard to its excellence in England, and affords a miserable consolation for the evils that are produced by its defects. It is a poor reason against improvement, that it is neglected by others. Why should I go about with a loathsome lingering disease because my lethargic slovenly neighbour procrastinates the day of his cure ?

There is one other circumstance, before departing from this passage, on which it is of real importance for the public to fix its attention. When Mr. Penn had demanded in various ways to *hear* the law, on pretence of which he had been arrested and imprisoned, and on pretence of which he was now harassed, loaded with opprobrious epithets, and tried with too evident a determination to condemn and to punish him, and when the Court found itself unable to answer him according to the plain, irresistible, and undoubted precepts of justice, it answered him as follows : “ Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the *honour* of the Court to suffer you to go on.” The *honour* of the Court ! Here is a use of the word *honour*, which a wise man will strongly mark as often as it presents itself to his mind. It is a use of the word which is very convenient and dear to those who are allowed to usurp it, but very mischievous to those at whose expense the usurpation is made. What is here meant by what the Court called its *honour*, and for the sake of which *honour*, Mr. Penn, demanding to hear the law upon which he was tried, was to be compelled to be silent, was not the upright administration of justice. This was not the honour about which the Court was expressing its solicitude. It was acting in a manner which by all persons of the present age will be allowed was not consonant with the pure administration of justice ; and yet, it seems, it had an *honour* of which it was very careful and jealous, and which it would by no means permit to be violated. It much concerns us to know and to remember what that honour was. It is not difficult to discover, and we ought to want no incentive to remember it. The honour, it is very plain, about which the Court was so

truly in earnest, was,—that its conduct, of whatever description it might be, whether favourable to the ends of justice or hostile to them, should be liable to no challenge or imputation. This is an honour on which it is no wonder that the Court set a value. An honour of this sort is not like the honour on which Falstaff so humourously descants. It is not a breath, a word. It is solid, substantial, indefinite, immeasurable power. We shall never find Courts, nor individuals either, neglectful of this sort of honour, where there is any chance of allowance to their claim. The honour for which the Court was now contending, was, at the very outset, a renunciation of all responsibility with regard to the public, a complete exemption from the control of publicity. The control of publicity is exposure to the effects of public approbation and disapprobation, or it is nothing at all. From the effects of public disapprobation however, under cover of the word *honour*, the Court demanded to be exempt, and supported its demand by punishment at its own discretion. It is however a principle now admitted in the science of legislation, as part of the groundwork and foundation of the system, that publicity is not only the best safeguard of justice, but a safeguard without which justice never has been and never can be well administered. This honour therefore, as often as it is claimed, is neither more nor less than a protest against the right administration of justice. And if this be as certain, as it evidently is, we cannot too anxiously watch the claims of honour which Courts of Justice, as well as other functionaries, are very naturally, but not the less dangerously, incited to make, and to endeavour with all their means to confirm. Nor ought any people ever to forget that as soon as the instruments of Government in any one of its departments make their honour to consist, not so much in the faithful discharge of their duties, as in the suppression of the blame to which it might be exposed, not only is too much power already possessed by them, but a design is pursued to augment that power and to make a mischievous use of it,

[To be continued.]

Biographical Memoir of the late Philip Beaver, Esquire, Commander of His Majesty's Ship Nisus, who died at the Cape of Good Hope on the 5th of April, 1813.

IT is the characteristic of true greatness, that it is always its own eulogist. In no instance is the truth of this observation more clearly elucidated than by the instance before us; for the greatest

praise which can be conferred upon Captain Beaver, will be to recount with fidelity the various events of his life, and the upright manner in which he conducted himself in those trying situations wherein it was his lot frequently to be placed. The person who pays this tribute to his memory has no wish to place unearned laurels around the urn of his friend : he will have done enough if he records with precision those virtues and those talents which must always make his memory sweet, independent of the partiality of sorrowing friendship and private attachment.

Philip Beaver, the subject of this memoir, was the son of the Rev. Dr. Beaver, a Clergyman of the Established Church of England, and Rector of Stokenchurch in Oxfordshire, who died in the prime of life, leaving in narrow circumstances an amiable widow and a family of young children. At eleven years of age this son was placed under the protection of the late Admiral Sir Joshua Rowley, with whom he remained until the close of the American war, and from whom he received a lieutenant's commission, which appointment was confirmed by Lord Howe when First Lord of the Admiralty. The peace of 1780 put him on shore ; and his character was soon afterwards formed from an accidental circumstance, the contemplation of which was ever afterwards a source of great pleasure to him. It was his good fortune to enjoy for a few days the society of some well informed persons ; and the difference which he discovered between his own acquirements and theirs, and the power which knowledge conferred, awakened in him a spirit of emulation and research that enabled him to surmount all obstacles. He applied himself during peace to the study of most of the European languages, and by incessant application became at length a well informed and accomplished Gentleman. He visited the Continent, and, after travelling for some time, stopped at Bourdeaux, where the illustrious Montesquieu had resided, whose works he had attentively studied, and whose memory he respected. He was very minute in his inquiries respecting this philosopher, and became acquainted with his habits of life and manners,—investigations which were always with him a favourite pursuit. At this place he formed an acquaintance with the son of Montesquieu ; but his mind was too active to indulge long in literary retirement and leisure. Having acquired knowledge, he was anxious to put it to practical use ; and the first attempts of the great philanthropists and friends of liberty in this country, to abolish the unnatural traffic in our fellow creatures, aroused him to energy and exertion in that cause, and brought him at once to England, with a heart full of hopes and fond presages. His name must be enrolled with his fellow labourers in

the same vineyard with those distinguished benefactors of mankind, Sharpe and Clarkson. If Captain Beaver's efforts in England have not appeared so prominent as theirs, it was because his mind was directed to the shores of Africa, where he was desirous of raising, by a free people, the same articles of commerce that were in the West Indies produced by the labour of slaves. From this he hoped much good might result, and concluded that avarice would be satisfied to receive the same gains, without misery, that were acquired by the groans and sorrows of thousands of their fellow creatures. But in this he was mistaken:—without a temptation of greater benefits, the slave-dealer and the merchant were not to be charmed to relax their hold. In this pursuit he sailed with a number of colonists to Bulama, an island in the mouth of the river Gambia.

All his endeavours were here directed to the establishment of a colony of free negroes, whose exertions would be adequate to the raising of coffee, cotton, and sugar, at a cheaper rate than the West Indies could afford, and in as abundant a supply. The events of this part of his life have been given to the world by himself, in a work entitled "African Memoranda," and it is to be regretted that he has not left behind him an account of every period of his existence after manhood.

The obstacles and the unforeseen difficulties which he had to encounter in his attempt to accomplish this enterprise, would have broken a spirit less enthusiastic, or less devoted to its object; but his ardour rose with opposing circumstances, and his mind was so fruitful in expedients that he had almost always a remedy at hand as soon as an evil presented itself: all that a single human being could accomplish in his situation was done. After having by his valour and fortitude as the Governor of the colony, endeared himself to the few remaining inhabitants, having buried sixty of his companions with his own hands; like Charles at Bender, he refused to quit his post until the last extremity; which measure he at length adopted, after a contest of two years, with the sorrows and discontents of the colonists, the attacks of the savages, and the deadly malignity of the climate, and arrived at Sierra Leon with a single companion of his misfortunes and his heroism: and it was on the coast of Africa that he executed a treaty of peace with the natives, by which they sold to the colonists a large tract of country; which should remain upon record, as a similar compact to the celebrated treaty made by Penn with the American Indians.—Whilst he was thus employed at Bulama, the war broke out between England and France, and he received a

summons to attend his duty as a lieutenant in the navy. His feelings on this occasion will be best understood by extracting from his Memoranda the answer he returned to Sir Philip Stephens, then Secretary to the Admiralty. He says, "If I disobey their Lordships' order in the Gazette, I know I am liable to lose my commission; and if I do obey it, I never deserved one." Such situations as this are the tests of true greatness of character. That man in whom principle and duty outweigh the allurements of wealth and honours, becomes a beacon, whose light will guide many through the crooked paths of servility and debasement; and never was a light of this kind more vivid than that which was reflected from the bosom of Captain Beaver.

On the failure of his laudable endeavours in Africa, he returned from Sierra Leon, and was immediately appointed to active service in the Indian seas. During this employment he visited all the British settlements on the coast of India, and examined with particular attention the policy adopted for the government of that part of the globe. Having in the course of his studies been attentive to Indian subjects, he seized with avidity the opportunity which was now afforded him of personally observing the effect of our colonial policy upon the people of Hindostan, and it is to be wished that the result of his inquiries and observations could be communicated to the public. On Lord Keith's taking the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Beaver was first lieutenant of the *Stately*, the admiral's ship, and was by him made master and commander,—an appointment which was not confirmed. As he returned to Europe a lieutenant, he had no patrons but his own merits, and at this time these did not meet attention.

An instance of the intrepidity of his character was displayed at the time of the mutiny at Spithead, upon which occasion he saved the life of Admiral Colpoys. The mutineers having condemned the admiral to be hanged; at the very moment that the sentence was about to be put into execution, and the fatal rope was already around his neck, Lieutenant Beaver rushed from the cabin with pistols in his hands, and by remonstrances and threats won the seamen from their purpose, and procured permission for the admiral to go on shore.

Lord Keith, being appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet, selected Captain Beaver as his first lieutenant in the *Queen Charlotte*, which ship was by accident burned, and in her perished many of his intimate friends. This melancholy event was however the cause of his promotion: the admiral's flag was

then hoisted in the *Foudroyant* of 84 guns, and Lieutenant Beaver was appointed master and commander, post captain, and captain of the fleet. On board of this fleet was embarked a large British army destined for the expulsion of the French from Egypt, and Captain Beaver became the favourite of that fleet and that army. He seems, during his life, to have been instrumental in rendering assistance to those who were engaged in any undertaking that had for its object the alleviation of the miseries of his species. Dr. John Walker having accompanied the expedition for the purpose of introducing vaccination into the East, and although not of the religious society of Quakers, yet having adopted their dress, he became on many occasions an object of ridicule with the unthinking of the fleet. But on these occasions he always found a friend and protector in Captain Beaver. And when the small-pox appeared on board the fleet, it was from his cabin that the man emerged who had power to arrest the career of the pestilence.

Dr. Walker has published an octavo volume entitled "*Fragments*," in which are inserted some of Captain Beaver's letters, who, it appears, supplied him with money when at Rosetta. And it is perhaps a feature in the character of Captain Beaver which ought not to be omitted, that when the doctor wrote to request the loan of ten pounds, he immediately sent him fifteen.

In the debarkation of the troops at Alexandria Captain Beaver acted a most conspicuous part; and Abercrombie, when wounded, was carried on board the *Foudroyant*, and breathed his last with his hand clasped in Beaver's. Our troops had not been long in Egypt before the Arabs refused to supply them with provisions unless they were paid for with metallic currency, of which there was none on board the fleet. In this extremity Captain Beaver volunteered his services to go to Lord Elgin at Constantinople, for the purpose of procuring a supply; and immediately departed in the *Déterminée*, a fast-sailing frigate, and navigated the Archipelago lashed to the bowsprit during the night, with the lead in his hand, making soundings as he proceeded. His endeavours were successful: a sufficient quantity of coin was collected by Lord Elgin, and Captain Beaver returned in time to save the British army from perishing. He was employed by Lord Keith at the blockade of Genoa, together with the Count St. Julian, to arrange the terms of capitulation for that place with General Massena. His experience of the conduct of the French general on that occasion raised him high in his esteem; honour and truth seemed to be so entirely his leading principles of

action, that Captain Beaver ever afterwards had the utmost reverence for his character, and never sat silent to hear him traduced: he always said of him, that he was the bravest and most honourable warrior with whom he had ever contended. Whilst Captain Beaver had the command of the *Foudroyant*, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with, and consequently of appreciating the characters of, several learned men and officers of rank belonging to the French army, whom the fortune of war had thrown into his possession on their return from Egypt. At this period he was frequently stationed on the coast of Africa; and being able to speak the Mandingo and another African language, and having also a knowledge of the Arabic, his intercourse with the natives was easy and familiar. Bruce, the celebrated explorer of the source of the Nile, was one of Captain Beaver's most esteemed heroes. His mind had long been directed towards the interior of the continent of Africa; the condition and improvement of the people of that vast continent were objects dear to his heart, and of course the continued theme of his inquiries and his observations. A native of Abyssinia was for many months a prisoner on board the *Foudroyant*; and being a man of peculiar intelligence, he was able to gather from him much information. Never was a man more the creature of observation; to him men of all religions and all nations were alike; human nature in all its phases was the great object of his pursuit; and with a glance he could read the subject that was presented to his notice, whether it were Christian, Mussulman, or Bramin. During the time that he was captain of the fleet in the Mediterranean, he exalted himself to that degree of eminence in his profession, which made him afterwards so greatly revered:—his mind was the pervading principle of the whole armament;—he was alike the friend of the admiral, the officers, and the men.—He was the bearer of the dispatches giving an account of the terms of the surrender of Genoa, which he brought over land in eleven days from Tuscany, finding his way through Germany to Heligoland and Yarmouth. But the battle of Marengo having afterwards determined the fate of that city, these documents were not published, the capitulation having been superseded by that momentous event. Lord Spencer, to whom the dispatches were delivered, having inquired the rank of the messenger, Captain Beaver's answer was, "A post-captain, and captain of the fleet." But upon examination it appeared that he was only rated a lieutenant, his agent having neglectfully omitted to apply for a confirmation of his former promotion by Lord Keith. He was then made a master and commander only, it

being contrary to the etiquette of the service to give two steps at one time; and Captain Beaver left London the same day to return to the Mediterranean fleet the lowest officer in command, although he had left it in a station next to the admiral. Sir Thomas Williams, in the *Endymion*, was ordered to carry him out; and on his arrival he was re-appointed post-captain and captain of the fleet; which appointments were subsequently confirmed by Lord Spencer. It was whilst employed in the Mediterranean that he married a young lady connected with Lord Keith, who is now his widow, and by whom he has left six children to lament his loss, to cherish his memory, and revere the example of his conduct.

When the treaty of Amiens gave peace to the world, and promised to allow some of the wounds of suffering humanity to heal, Captain Beaver and his family remained in the Mediterranean, to enjoy for a while the beauties of that part of the world, uninterrupted by the sound of war or the dangers attendant upon military enterprises.—As nearly his whole life had been spent abroad, and his friendships were amongst those who shared with him in the toils of an arduous profession, he had not those strong inducements to return to his native country which attracted others under different circumstances.

Soon after his return to England, a new war broke out, or, to speak more correctly, the former was resumed, and his first duties were to organize the fencibles at the mouth of the Thames; a service which he performed in a highly satisfactory manner, and to which he paid as great attention as he would have done to the most brilliant enterprise to which Government could have appointed him. This service introduced him to the country gentlemen on the coast where he was stationed, with whom he became intimate, and who were emulous in showing him every mark of attention. At this time he was selected as a proper person to examine the flotilla collecting at Boulogne; which service he performed in the character of a fisherman in an open boat. Sir George Beckwith had the military command in the district in which Captain Beaver was stationed; and a friendship commenced, which was renewed subsequently in the West Indies, and which only terminated with their lives. The subject of this memoir published his opinions of the practicability of invasion in a series of letters signed Nearchus; and also, under the signature of Themistocles, treated upon the formation of the character of the British seaman. Wherever he was, he seems always to have been anxious to benefit those by whom he was surrounded, and with whom he was

connected. Soon after he had completed the establishment of the marine fencibles, Lord Grey appointed him to the command of the *Acasta* of 44 guns, and he was ordered to the West Indies, where Sir Alexander Cochrane had the command of the fleet. Here Captain Beaver again became a favourite; and the post of honour and of danger was conferred upon him, he being selected to land the troops at Martinico, which troops were commanded by his friend Sir George Beckwith. Their joint efforts were successful, and Captain Beaver received a grant of customer of Port Royal in that island, which produced 400*l.* per annum. He then was sent as a negotiator to the Cortes on the Spanish Main; and subsequently was engaged in the taking of some minor French islands in the West Indies. Upon his return to England he was immediately put in command of a new frigate, the *Nisus*, and dispatched to the Isle of France, carrying Admiral Bertie's flag. There he was intrusted with the debarkation of 12,000 men, which he conducted with such skill as not to lose a single man or boat, although they had to pass between an intricate reef of coral rocks.

When it was resolved upon to attack the island of Java, Admiral Stopford sent him as commodore of a squadron of frigates to perform that service. That event is of so recent a date, that it yet lives in the memory of every one who keeps his eyes upon the political events of our country: it would therefore be useless to go into a detail of the manner in which the capture of that colony was achieved.

But praiseworthy, and exemplary and brilliant as was the conduct of Captain Beaver as an officer, arising from a decision of character, a promptitude and a perseverance never surpassed, still he rises into infinitely greater estimation as a philosopher and a man. Such an union of principle, talent, and acquirements of various descriptions have seldom been found in the same individual. Although a warrior by profession, the sympathies of his heart were those of peace. Superior to vulgar prejudices, the offspring of national pride, unless called for by his country his sword always rested in the scabbard. His mind was open and ingenuous, and his heart was ready to receive those into its confidence whose merits rendered them worthy of esteem. When he had once formed a friendship, it was never withdrawn for slight deviations; but those in whom he found craft and cunning or deceit he would never suffer to approach him. Generosity, self-denial, and the protection of the oppressed, were among the prominent features of his character. He was not less brave than

humane. To the proud he was lofty, to the humble he was lowly. So enthusiastic was he in his profession, that, during war, nothing could have induced him to remain on shore. The whole navy speak of him with but one voice. The commendation is the same from the commander as from the man before the mast. Never did he desire a seaman to do that which he would not have performed himself; and the knowledge of this trait in his disposition reconciled the toiling mariner to many a dangerous and laborious duty. Whatever situation in life had been his lot, he must have been a conspicuous character. Those energies of mind, which carried him so high in the navy, would have been equally exerted in any other duty: and it is one melancholy attendant upon a state of national war, and we may say always of national brutality, that it leads men away from those pursuits wherein minds of superior endowments would be employed for the benefit and the amelioration of the state of mankind, to improve those arts which have for their object the destruction of our species, the engendering of malignant passions, and the propagation of vice and hardheartedness in the world.

The British System of Education for the least opulent, least instructed, and most numerous Class.

OUR object at present is chiefly confined to the duty of rendering to the public an account of the facts by which the state of this important concern has undergone alteration since the last statement which we were called upon to present. The facts, however, to which we more particularly allude, are those which regard the system of management; the plan devised for conducting the business, for relieving it from those accidents to which it has hitherto stood exposed, for placing it on a distinct and public basis, and giving to it that sort of security which the steadiness of public management, as much as possible exempt from the untoward accidents of individual behaviour, can alone bestow. The multiplication of schools, the progress of the public mind; the state of the funds, and other matters, shall be reserved till the publication of the Annual Report.

It is known already to our readers, that a plan adapted to the accomplishment of the abovementioned purposes has been for some time in agitation. It was distinctly felt, independently of the circumstances which accidentally created the chief difficulties

under which the Institution laboured, that such an alteration was highly necessary; and that what was maintained by the money of the public should clearly stand upon a public foundation, and as clearly remain under public inspection and control.

Not only the narrow supplies of the Institution, and the magnitude of the work to be performed, rendered the most frugal application of every farthing of the money an imperious and indispensable duty; but it was fully perceived and understood that one expedient, and one only, was of a nature to accomplish the purpose. Complication; obscurity; the want of a due separation of what ought to be separated; the mixing together of different funds destined to different services, so that the connexion between the supplies provided and the services performed cannot be easily and immediately traced, nor a judgement formed whether the work accomplished is all that with the means provided it is possible to accomplish; form one of the general causes of the misapplication of public funds, of the mismanagement of public business, and of the prevention of innumerable advantages which might happily be conferred upon society.

These reasonings could not fail to lead to the conclusion, that the funds which the public supplied to this Institution, for the maintenance of a school, and for the training of schoolmasters, should be simply, and without admixture with any other concern, appropriated to those purposes; that they should not only be held distinct, and free from complication with any man's individual concerns or individual expense, but that no man individually should have power to incur a single farthing of charge upon the public fund. It was not the experience of their own particular inconveniences alone which led the Committee to this general opinion; but their conviction that, without a system of management moulded upon this principle, inconveniences could never be avoided.

This principle, indeed, lies so necessarily at the root of all good management, that it may naturally enough be asked, How came this important Institution ever to be conducted on a different plan? To account for this, it is necessary to recollect in what circumstances the Institution originated, and through what stages it has passed; from which it will be visible, that at no earlier period was the introduction of a more perfect system practicable; and that the very first occasion has been embraced at which the object could with perfect propriety be accomplished. The school in the Borough Road, which Mr. Lancaster, then a very young man, opened for teaching the children of the poor in that neigh-

bourhood for pay, as a means of livelihood, gave, as the public are well informed, the commencement to the proceedings which it is now the object and the endeavour of the Institution to carry on and extend. By employing the children themselves, as instruments in the instruction of one another, and contriving expedients by which this instrumentality was rendered more efficient than it had hitherto been, as well as by other economical devices, Mr. Lancaster rendered it evident that schooling for the poor might be provided at a small expense. Happily for the public, Mr. Lancaster was not of a character to let his merits remain unknown. The proceedings in the school in the Borough Road were displayed to the public; and the public mind was prepared to receive a deep impression from the contemplation of such an object. Very happily, too, a class of persons whose opinions were sure to attract attention, were incited to attack in print these plans for the instruction of the poor, in the name of the Church, and to declare that, if the children of the poor were allowed to be instructed by a sectary, the Church was in danger. This increased the public curiosity; the public curiosity increased the public knowledge; the public knowledge multiplied instead of diminishing the friends of the work; and the King himself gave to it his countenance and support.

Notwithstanding the assistance, however, which Mr. Lancaster had thus received, he had fallen into debt, and was on the point of sinking under his embarrassments, when the knowledge of his transactions and of his difficulties was imparted to Mr. Fox. With a public spirit which has few examples, that excellent man, actuated by a sense of duty to preserve the operation of a most important benefit to society, pledged a considerable portion of what he possessed to relieve a person whom he regarded as a great instrument of public good, and enable him without intermission to continue his efforts to that end. A small number of individuals afterwards stepped in to share with him the burthen, and took upon themselves a part in managing the establishment. This was the second of the stages at which the proceedings arrived, when the school was still the property of Mr. Lancaster, and a private concern; at which time he was engaged to the individuals who had relieved him, to exert himself for that public object which had procured him their friendship, and for the means of reimbursing to them the advances which they had made in his behalf.

After some efforts of a less public nature, and after some journeys performed by Mr. Lancaster for the purpose of exciting, by means of lectures, the spirit of the people throughout the country,

and improving their knowledge of the means of imparting instruction to the most numerous class of the community, it was resolved by the individuals who had most closely connected themselves with the business of this important concern, to endeavour to place it upon a more public foundation than it had as yet obtained. Persons of the highest rank and influence were easily induced to co-operate in the generous undertaking, and to lend their name and their exertions, as well as their purses, for carrying it on. A committee was also formed of a number of men of influence and talent. And the public contributions were solicited by public meetings upon a more extended scale. This was the third of the stages at which the proceedings in behalf of this system of schooling arrived. It was now partly a public concern, but it was partly also a private one. The school was still the school of Mr. Lancaster, though it was Mr. Lancaster's school supported by public contributions. It was not easy therefore, if Mr. Lancaster insisted upon it, to prevent his private influence from interfering greatly with the public influence, or Mr. Lancaster's personal expenses from blending themselves with the public expenses of the Institution. This, it is evident, was a state of confusion under which no public concern could be well and economically managed.

In this situation Mr. Lancaster suddenly engaged in the business of a boarding-school, for his own benefit, on a large scale at Tooting. It became now more than ever necessary to make a determined stand for preventing the funds of the Institution from becoming in any manner pledged for the private expenses of Mr. Lancaster, or being converted to the support of his projects. To prepare the way for this, one measure was absolutely necessary, which was to accomplish a bargain with Mr. Lancaster for the transfer of his property in the premises in the Borough Road to the Institution. After some negotiation this was accomplished on terms of his own proposing, which were, that the gentlemen who had taken upon themselves his early debts, and who stood in advance for him to the amount of upwards of 5,000*l.*, should exonerate him from all obligation to them, and should become invested in the premises in the Borough Road in lieu of payment. To this proposal the gentlemen in question acceded, and agreed to hold the premises in trust for the public concern, and to look to the public for payment of the sums which they had willingly embarked in a service by which the public was so greatly to profit.

Now for the first time was it possible to render the Institution entirely public, and to place it, clear of all deduction or reservation, upon a public foundation. A plan for that purpose be-

can to be matured. In the mean time the difficulties with Mr. Lancaster increased; difficulties of which it is by no means easy to speak, and to lay before the public that information which the public has a right to require; that information which the public demands, and which is plainly necessary for constituting that ground of confidence on which the continuance of its support depends. We are however the less under any obligation of reserve, that Mr. Lancaster himself has published his hostility to the Committee, and in print denounced them his enemies and persecutors. As far too as discussion in a public meeting, and the publication of its proceedings in the newspapers, remove all delicacy on the subject of the opposition which Mr. Lancaster has made to those who had combined in using their utmost endeavours for carrying on the business of education on the most extensive and liberal scale, there can be no reason for withholding any facts which it is useful the public should know. Besides, it is our clear and decided opinion, that not on this occasion only, but on almost all occasions that can be named, the publication of the truth is salutary to all parties, and most of all to the party that is most in the wrong. It makes the lesson of experience to strike the deeper. It renders the sense of the error more keen and pungent; the association between the idea of the fault and the idea of its natural punishment, or its painful consequences, more strong and operative; it gives more security, in a word, for the reclaiming of the offender; for obtaining, in future, beneficent conduct, where before was experienced the reverse. With regard even to the parties on whom, on such occasions, the truth may appear the hardest to lean, they cannot exhibit any feeling more calculated to excite well-grounded hopes of future worth and utility, than a patient and decent approbation of what is useful to be told. The person who thoroughly hates his offence, and is resolved to redeem whatever estimation he may have lost, by new degrees of virtue and of merit in future, feels that he loses by the fullest disclosure of his actions nothing which he would wish to retain. The man who is inordinately solicitous that as much as possible of his transgressions should be concealed, gives a strong proof that he is not fully inclined to redeem his past by his future behaviour; that he wishes to have a good character upon *cheap* terms, or rather upon *dishonest* terms; that he wishes to pass upon the public for better than he is, at least with regard to the past; and if he wishes to do so with regard to the past, it is a strong presumption that he will wish to do so with regard to the future. We say this, however, rather as general doctrine, of high importance and utility, applicable indeed on the present, as

on almost all analogous occasions, but not peculiarly necessary to justify any thing which here we shall find it requisite to produce. All which we shall here find it requisite to produce has been produced to the public already. What we have now to state is only as much as is necessary to complete that record of the transactions of this important Association, which we deem it of moment that the public should possess ; and to afford to the public that sort of satisfactory explanation of every thing about it, which the public has a right to expect.

It is necessary to state that those Gentlemen who had stood forward to the public as trustees, pledged for the best application of the funds which the public supplied, had been in the habit of experiencing considerable difficulty with Mr. Lancaster, in the details of management, particularly with regard to the material consideration of expense. They deemed it their duty to the contributors, and still more to the great work which the state of instruction among the people so urgently required to be carried on, and which only could be carried on by the most economical management, to make a vigorous stand against every instance of unnecessary expense. It would be tedious, and does not appear to be extremely necessary, to describe how long and often the parties pulled in opposite directions on this ground, and how much care was taken to soften the differences, both in tenderness to Mr. Lancaster, and to prevent the advantage which might be taken from any appearance of discord in the management to prejudice the good work in the eyes of the public.

At last, after Mr. Lancaster had in a great measure withdrawn his personal attendance from the Institution in the Borough Road, after he was engaged in the business of his school at Tooting, and the premises in the Borough Road were vested in trustees for the benefit of the public, a refusal on the part of these trustees to comply with a pecuniary demand of Mr. Lancaster for his own benefit, which had already been settled according to his own desire, produced on his part an explosion which rendered a new state of connection and a new plan of cooperation (if connection and cooperation were any longer advisable) absolutely necessary. It is only requisite here to repeat what Mr. Lancaster has printed and published. It is only necessary to say, that no expression of a hostile mind was on his part withheld. He declared the trustees and those who acted with them to be his enemies and persecutors, and accused them of being actuated by a design to intercept the public favour and applause which were due to him, and to attach it to themselves.

We purposely abstain from all comment upon these facts ; and

proceed to relate, that the state of the concern came now by necessity under the review of the principal persons by whom the interests of the Institution had been chiefly patronized, as a step preliminary to that of submitting the proposed arrangements to the supporters of the Institution at large. The reciprocal complaints of the trustees and of Mr. Lancaster were fully examined and maturely considered by those great persons, who bestowed upon the subject a degree of labour and attention which cannot be too highly praised. The circumstances were repeatedly discussed in conjunction with meetings of the Finance Committee, and the matters in dispute were expressly referred to friends of Mr. Lancaster, chosen by himself. The conclusion to which all, without one exception, arrived, and the friends of Mr. Lancaster, chosen by himself, as strongly and decidedly as any of the rest, was—not only that upon the whole Mr. Lancaster was in the wrong and the trustees in the right, but that in every point on which opposition had arisen, their conduct deserved approbation, and his the contrary: that if in any instance they had erred, it was in yielding up too much to Mr. Lancaster, and manifesting too much lenity to what they could not approve.

In the mean time the private concerns of Mr. Lancaster came to a crisis, and his name appeared in the Gazette as a bankrupt. By the friends of that system of schooling with which his name was connected, that system which not only afforded the blessing of education to those who were least able to pay for it, upon the cheapest terms, but opened the school doors to all; the sort of scandal which this event was calculated to bring upon the system, and the advantage which its enemies might possibly make of such a handle to prejudice the public against it, was deeply deplored. To them it appeared that no time was to be lost to rescue the public cause, as far as possible, from that injury which it was liable to sustain by the imprudence, or even the misfortunes, of those whose names might be strongly connected with it in the public mind.

The scheme, therefore, which had for some time been under consideration, and which had been carefully framed and examined by those persons who had enjoyed the greatest experience in conducting affairs of a similar nature, was anxiously reviewed and discussed; and after all possible pains had been used in maturing it, and it had received the sanction of the Committee, a public meeting of subscribers was called, for the purpose of submitting it to their decision.

Training the children of the most numerous class upon the most economical terms, and opening the doors of the schools to

all religious denominations, upon the only practicable principle, of abstaining from the inculcation of any particular set of religious opinions, and merely giving to the children the Bible to read, being assumed as the grand objects which by the new arrangements were to be, if possible, more effectually pursued; and the seminary for training schoolmasters, to carry the methods of the institution into effect, as fast as schools are erected in the country, being the principal object of attention, and the principal source of difficulty and expense; the plan by which it was proposed that the business should in future be conducted, was as follows:

That the whole body of contributors should form themselves into an association, and take the management of this great and interesting business into their own hands; every person subscribing annually one guinea and upwards being a member; every person subscribing ten guineas a member for life; every person subscribing fifty guineas entitled to assist and vote at all meetings of the Committee.

That this association should hold two General Meetings in the year, of which one principal object should be to elect the different office-bearers and managers by whom the business of the Institution must be daily and regularly carried on; and that for this purpose a Patron, Vice Patrons, a President, Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, and Secretary, and a Committee of twenty-four, should be chosen annually: that these General Meetings should also receive annually a Report of the proceedings of the Institution, and accounts of the receipts and disbursements: upon all which a Report should be prepared for publication.

That as the principal charge of administration must devolve upon the Committee, they, for the more convenient distribution of business, should, at their first meeting in every year, elect five members as a Committee of Finance, whose duty it should be to superintend more immediately the pecuniary concerns of the Institution, to consider of the best means for augmenting the funds, nominate agents throughout the empire, and regulate the accounts;—elect also twelve members as visitors, to inspect the house, the young persons under instruction, and tradesmen's bills, reporting from time to time to the Committee;—elect moreover two members as Auditors of Accounts; and appoint Sub-Committees when necessary.

To matters of more subordinate detail we account it unnecessary to descend. They resemble the regulations, modified by the nature of the business, which other societies have found expedient for conducting their affairs.

There is only one other circumstance of which any particular

mention is necessary: Though Mr. Lancaster had hitherto expressed the most violent aversion to the whole project, and his resolution not to act with the parties who had been chiefly instrumental in upholding the Institution, it was by the persons upon whom the preliminary business of arrangement devolved generally deemed a desirable object, with regard to the public, that as little of schism as possible should appear in the proceedings of the Society; that an office should be created by which Mr. Lancaster, if he chose, might still unite himself with the Institution, and that no pains should be spared to bring his mind to a more reasonable mode of thinking.

For this purpose it was agreed that there should be an office of Teaching Superintendant, whose duty it should be, in conjunction with the Schoolmaster, to take a leading part in the instruction of the young persons who should be admitted into the seminary for masters, and to inspect the various schools in the metropolis which are conducted upon the all-embracing plan, with some other functions of minor importance: and Mr. Lancaster was invited to accept of this office with a liberal salary, or to signify his rejection of it, before the General Meeting of Subscribers. No answer, though it had been stated to him that his silence must be held tantamount to a refusal, was received, and the subscribers met. It is only necessary to give a short statement of the proceedings of that assembly, which have already been published in the newspapers, and we shall then we trust have communicated to our readers all that is necessary to give them an adequate conception of the present state of the Institution.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was in the chair. The Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Darnley, and other persons of distinction, being present, with a respectable assemblage of subscribers, a Report from the Committee was read, briefly stating the nature of the business on account of which the present meeting was called, and explaining the grounds upon which the code of regulations about to be submitted to their consideration was both deemed necessary, and conceived to be adapted to the accomplishment of the ends that were in view. When the code was read, Mr. Lancaster rose and objected to the proposed proceedings, chiefly on the score of time, of which, he said, that enough had not been afforded to make up his mind. Without repeating the different observations which were made upon his remarks, it is sufficient to state, that it appeared to be the decided and unanimous opinion of the assembly that there was no weight in his objections. The different articles of the code were then separately proposed to the meeting, to receive

their provisional approbation, and to stand for final confirmation at the next General Meeting. They were all unanimously adopted. Of the further proceedings of this assembly one only it will be necessary to relate. Among other Gentlemen who offered to the assembly more or less of explanation on the existing state of the Institution, Mr. Whitbread was one, to whom it occurred that one effort more might still be tried to subdue the mind of Mr. Lancaster, and to prevent that appearance of discord which his separation from the Institution might produce. After urging upon Mr. Lancaster in the strongest terms the unreasonable nature of his pretensions, after telling him literally that an insatiable desire of power had led him to oppose the interests of the Institution; that for the exercise of power he was altogether unqualified, and for the prevention of mischief that it must be entirely kept out of his hands; he added that a situation had however been expressly chalked out for him—that sort of situation in which alone he was qualified to be useful; that the Institution not only held even yet the door open to him, but were ready to entreat and to implore him to enter; and that in the name of the Society he did accordingly both entreat and implore that he would accept the office which was held out to him. The consequence was, that Mr. Lancaster complied; and that the office of Superintendant, with the duties and on the terms above described, is now filled by him. He has a definite duty to perform, and a definite salary to receive. And the funds of the Institution are, as they ought to be, in the hands of those who contribute them; to be applied and managed, through the whole details of application and management, by themselves, under the administration of those whom, as their committees or delegates, they themselves may appoint. As this is the only plan calculated to give full satisfaction to the public, and the best security that can be afforded against mismanagement, it is fondly hoped that the new Constitution may form a new æra in the history of “Schools for all,” give a new impulse to the system, remove obstructions, multiply aids, and accelerate the important progress.

Till the next General Meeting, which it is proposed to hold in the month of May, it has been deemed advisable that the old Committee, associating with themselves such of the subscribers as were disposed to assist, should continue in office, and discharge the duties of administration. At that meeting, if the subscribers shall confirm the code which has received their preliminary sanction, they will proceed to take the business into their own hands, and elect their own administrators.

Facts Interesting to Humanity.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION AT BATH.

Letter I. DOES it not call for our admiration and gratitude, in an especial manner, when we consider that, whilst other nations have been made desolate by the ravages of war, this favoured land, under the protection of Divine Providence, has been preserved in a state of tranquillity; and that, whilst others have been devising the destruction of their fellow men, Britons have been engaged in spreading the knowledge of those divine truths, which will promote the happiness of the whole human race?

Philanthropy hath exerted itself in achieving the grandest works; the difficulties that have arisen have yielded to the greatness of the objects it embraced; societies have been formed for accomplishing the noblest purposes that can interest the affections, exalt the character, or improve the condition of man; and the means have greatly multiplied with the opportunities of doing good.

But among the many excellent Institutions formed for the benefit of mankind, and especially of those intended for the lower orders of society, ONE appears to be much wanted *for bettering their condition, by the encouragement of industry, and promoting economy; and for assisting the poor man to deposit his savings in safety, at an interest.* The quantum of interest is not so much to be regarded, as a safe deposit for small sums receivable at all times convenient to depositors; and thereby forming habits of oeconomy, which will never be departed from; making, at the same time, an honourable provision either for marriage, or the support of a family, for sickness or old age.

The establishment of PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS* generally throughout the nation is fraught with the wisest policy, and would be productive of the happiest effects, not only to individuals but the state. They would tend to the reduction of the

* Since writing the foregoing, W. Davis has met with an account, in the "Archives of Useful Knowledge," published in Philadelphia, of an Institution under the title of "THE BANK OF SAVINGS," "Le Bureau d'Economie," established by law, at Paris, in the early and most promising part of the French Revolution; which, notwithstanding the distracted state of France, and the crimes that have since disgraced her national character, is said "to have continued in full operation to the present day, and to have been productive of the greatest advantages to the public."

Another Society, on a similar plan, called "The Bank of Industry," was

poor-rates, which (at a time when every eighth person of the whole population of England is said to be a receiver of parochial pay) would be of infinite advantage. They would advance the industrious poor man to that rank in society which his good conduct merits; and would place him above the degrading necessity of seeking parochial assistance, except in extraordinary cases of distress. The love of independence is so much a part of our nature, that few would relinquish a claim to it without regret. Even the poor labouring man, who has not been previously corrupted by bad example or counsel, when first he applies to the parish for relief, feels himself lowered in his own estimation, as well as in that of his industrious neighbours: time, however, and repeated applications blunt his honest pride, and at length he becomes reconciled to his state of degradation.

The poor-rates in this country are become a grievous and almost intolerable burthen; and it is worthy our observation that, in proportion as this tax has increased, the springs of industry have become relaxed, and the morals of the poor vitiated: indeed charitable institutions in general, especially if injudiciously or indiscriminately administered, have a necessary tendency to relax a spirit of *self-exertion*; but if we destroy the *motive* to this, do we not destroy that which was intended by Divine Wisdom to constitute a considerable portion of a man's present happiness?

In February and March last, several letters appeared in the *Bath Herald*, recommending the formation of PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS; and suggesting the advantage that must arise to society from their general adoption in the principal cities and towns throughout the kingdom. The subject excited a lively interest in this city, and a public meeting was called by the Mayor, at the requisition of many characters of the first distinction, as well for their high rank as for their benevolence.—This meeting was numerously attended, and Sir Horace Mann, bart. a known patron of all philanthropic undertakings, accepted the office of Chairman. The business was entered upon with a zealous spirit of patriotism; the person who first suggested the proposal read the outline of his plan, the principle of which was received with approbation, and supported by many gentlemen present.

The meeting resolved "that a Provident Institution be forth-

lately proposed to be established at Philadelphia. Such a coincidence is a little curious, and proves that the minds of thinking men, in distant regions, may be directed to similar objects of national good, without any communication, or knowledge thereof, having passed between them. We hope these facts may animate our exertions, and that Great Britain will be found *second* to no other country in works of real philanthropy.

with formed in this city." A large Committee, consisting of thirty-five gentlemen, was then appointed to consider the best mode of carrying this resolution into effect, which was to be submitted to a future meeting, to be called as soon as their report was ready.

I intend noticing the subsequent transactions which have taken place, as the subject of another letter.

I am respectfully, &c.

Bath, Nov. 17, 1813.

W. DAVIS.

Letter II.—The large Committee of the "Provident Institution" held their first meeting 20th March 1813, and successively adjourned until the 5th May following; in the course of which they met ten different times, besides several sittings held by the select or sub-committee. The business was entered upon, and conducted with equal zeal, patriotism, and harmony; and the subjects that came under discussion, displayed ability and candour. The Committee began with forming a digest of rules for the government of the Institution; in which, however, they had not proceeded far before they perceived that the office of Trustees, involving great responsibility, would be attended with some difficulty; to combat which became their first concern.

The public funds naturally presented the best security for investing the capital of this Institution. The Committee generously resolved that the poor depositor should not be subject to any loss that may arise from the fall of the stocks, but that he should at all times be entitled to receive *twenty shillings*, with interest, for the *pound note* which he had deposited; in which case the liability to loss would attach to the Trustees, or Managers. It was therefore further resolved (on the motion of a Noble Lord, a member of the Committee) that to indemnify the Trustees from such contingency of loss, some countervailing security ought to be given them; and that the most satisfactory mode of securing them, appeared to be by an honourable and legal undertaking of the nature of a policy, by which the friends of the Institution would engage to bear the Trustees harmless from all loss amounting to the aggregate sums affixed to their respective names; or, in case of a smaller loss, then rateably or in proportion to the sums subscribed.

This sort of security was unanimously approved by the Committee; and as a proof of their zeal, the sum of 2,000*l.* was immediately subscribed by about half their number then present (with the addition of one gentleman absent, who requested the Chairman to include his subscription). From such a specimen

of liberality among a few, a confident hope may reasonably be entertained, that an indemnity to any reasonable and necessary amount may be expected from a generous PUBLIC whenever the Institution goes forward.

The present time is certainly a most favourable one for investing a capital in the funds, which cannot be expected to remain much longer at their present low price. In the event of a peace they will probably rise considerably; and then, in case of any future reverse, (which from past observation, and the state of Europe, which perhaps never stood more in need of repose, we should hope is not within a short period to be expected) the years of advance being set against a period of depreciation, the balance may fairly be calculated to be rather in favour than against the permanent stockholder, who had made considerable purchases at a low price.

The point of indemnity being settled, and the Committee having observed, that, notwithstanding the close attention they had given to the business, it proceeded but slowly forward, concluded that a *small* number of active men would be more likely to facilitate it than so *large a body as 35 gentlemen*. They therefore selected seven of their members to prepare a Plan of a Provident Institution; and these seven gentlemen further deputed two of their number, to whom the task was delegated, namely Dr. Haygarth and W. Davis.

Dr. Haygarth's plan has been printed, and is before the public, who will duly appreciate its merit. That by W. Davis will be subjoined; towards which, "with all its imperfections on its head," the candour of the public is respectfully solicited; the framer of it hopes a favourable allowance will be made for an individual in a very humble path of life, whose only claim to that indulgence is founded on his endeavours to be useful to his fellow creatures. The two plans were presented to the Committee, without any decision being come to on either of them; after which, at their last meeting held the 5th of May, some gentlemen having signified their intention of leaving Bath for the summer, the Committee *dissolved itself*, but not without considerable regret that they had not fulfilled the object of their appointment, *principally in not being able to prevail on a sufficient number of gentlemen to accept the office of Trustees*, even under the guarded principle before laid down.

The whole business therefore reverts to the PUBLIC, whose will was so fully expressed at the General Meeting held at the Guildhall 19th March. The suspense that has taken place has not, however, been without its advantages, having afforded an oppor-

tunity of consulting gentlemen whose situations and experience would qualify them to judge of the expediency of the proposed measure. The result has been most auspicious : several gentlemen of high rank, as senators and statesmen, having expressed their entire approbation of the principle of Provident Institutions, have condescended to offer to become members of the one intended to be established at Bath.

It has also been intimated that Parliament would be ready to lend its assistance in promoting establishments which promise such extensive benefit to the community. We therefore trust that the few difficulties that have existed will vanish, and that every industrious man in the kingdom will, ere long, have the encouraging means of depositing the savings of his labour in a place of safety at an interest. Such an event will give a fresh impulse to industry; spread the means of comfort and happiness among the lower classes of our brethren; bring back the morals of the poor to order and to virtue; and promote the general good of society:—in short, with the blessing of Divine Providence, it will open a new æra in the annals of our country, equal to the best period of our history.

W. DAVIS.

Bath, Nov. 24, 1813.

N. B. As a sufficient number of gentlemen of large property in the Committee did not appear inclined to accept the office of Trustees, a handsome and liberal offer was made by one of our City Banks, *that, to promote the Institution, they would pay an interest of 3½ per cent. on the deposits that may be lodged with them, and furnish the Managers with Government security to the amount thereof.*

A Plan of a Provident Institution for bettering the Condition of the lower Orders of Society, by promoting Habits of Industry and Economy; and for receiving Deposits of small Sums of Money at Interest, the Savings of industrious or provident Persons. Drawn up by Order of the Committee, and intended as a Report to a General Meeting.

Gentlemen,

WE, your Committee, having several times met, with a view of carrying into effect your Resolution of 19th of March, "That a Provident Institution be forthwith formed in this City;" beg leave to present you with the following Plan, viz.

1. That it consist of a President; 10 or more Vice-Presidents, of whom that the Mayor of Bath for the time being be requested to be one.

Five or more Trustees.

A General Committee, chosen from amongst the Contributors of not less than 5%.

A Committee of Management; of whom six should go out of office yearly by rotation.

A Treasurer chosen by the Trustees.

One or more gratuitous Secretaries.

Together with an Actuary and an Auditor of Accounts (having salaries) chosen by the President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees.

2. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees be Members of all Committees, *ex officio*.

3. That the General Committee, when chosen, do at their first meeting nominate a Committee of Management, of whom five do form a quorum, to superintend the business of the Institution.

4. That for establishing and carrying on this Institution, and for defraying the necessary expenses, a fund be raised by donations. That the Public be respectfully applied to through the usual channel of the Bath papers; and that the money be received at the banks and libraries in this city.

5. That the accumulating Fund or Capital of this Institution, after paying to the depositors the sums due to them respectively, and discharging the necessary expenses that may be incurred, be applied solely to the encouragement of industry and œconomy amongst the lower orders of society, in such manner as shall hereafter be determined by the Donors and Benefactors to this Institution, or the majority of them; but that no person concerned in the management of its affairs be allowed to derive any pecuniary benefit or advantage from its funds.

6. That separate and distinct accounts be kept of the several funds, whether arising from donations, bequests, deposits, or any other source, and that the amount be invested in like manner separately, in the Public Funds, in the names of the Trustees chosen at a General Meeting of the Donors and Benefactors.

7. That all moneys belonging to or under the care of this Institution be from time to time paid into the hands of the Treasurer, who, on having in his possession as much as will purchase 100*l.* 3 per cent. stock, be required to invest the same, subject to the direction of the Committee of Management.

8. That it appears advisable that a small part of the Capital of this Institution, to be invested in the Public Funds, should stand in the names of Trustees *who may be likely generally to be in Bath*, so as to answer any sudden demand for payment that may be made.

9. That a book be kept by the Treasurer, and left at the

Office of this Institution, entitled "The Cash and Stock Account Book," in which should regularly be entered all moneys received and paid by him; and all purchases and sales of Stock; for which purchases and sales the Brokers' Accounts and Stock Notes be deemed sufficient vouchers for the Trustees.

10. That whenever it shall be necessary to sell out of the Public Funds any part of the Capital of this Institution, a requisition in writing for such sale be made to the Trustees.

11. That every such requisition be signed by at least five of the Committee of Management, and transmitted by their Chairman to the Chairman of the General Committee, with whose signature it should be forwarded to the Treasurer, who should thereupon procure the necessary Powers of Attorney from the Bank of England.

12. That as soon as Powers of Attorney have been procured, they should be forwarded by the Treasurer to the respective Trustees for their signatures, accompanied by a copy of the order of the Committee of Management, and countersigned further by the Chairman thereof.

13. That copies of all orders for the purchase or sale of stock be made in a book kept at the office of the Institution under the direction of the Committee of Management, and duly signed.

14. That in case of removal, resignation, or decease of either of the Trustees, a new one be forthwith chosen by the General Committee, at a Special Meeting convened by the Committee of Management.

15. That an office be provided, with necessary accommodations, for transacting the business of this Institution, and that all books and official papers belonging to it be deposited in an iron chest secure from fire.

16. That the Committee of Management do recommend to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees proper persons to serve the offices of Actuary, Auditor, or other necessary assistants having salaries.

17. That the Actuary, when chosen, be required to give security in the sum of for moneys that may pass through his hands, and for the faithful discharge of his duty.

18. That the duty of the Actuary be to attend at the office daily during the usual hours of business; to receive deposits, and to pay the interest thereon when due; to keep the books, to transact all business of the office, and, if required, to attend the meetings of the Institution.

19. That on the receipt of money deposited with this Institution, the Actuary do furnish the depositors with a ticket or cer-

tificate, numbered according to the check book, in the names and on behalf of the Trustees.

20. That the Actuary do pay into the hands of the Treasurer, at least once a week, such moneys as he may receive on account of the Institution, unless special directions to the contrary be given him by the Committee of Management.

21. That the Auditor, under direction of the Committee of Management, do inspect and examine weekly, or as often as may be necessary, all official books and accounts belonging to the Institution, and report thereon.

22. That the General Committee and Committee of Management do meet and adjourn from time to time as often as business may require; and in cases of necessity, that Special Meetings may be convened at the requisition of five or more members, notified to the Secretary.

23. That Books, containing Minutes of all Meetings and Proceedings of the several Committees, be kept, and signed from time to time by the respective Chairmen, or by the Secretary.

24. That one or more Secretaries be chosen, who be requested to attend the meetings, and assist in the business of this Institution; and that they be deemed members of all committees, *ex officio*.

25. That General Meetings of the Patrons and Benefactors of this Institution be held at least once in the year, and that the same be on the first Tuesday in February, when a public Report be made, vacancies in the Committees filled up, or new Committees appointed; and such new regulations made as occasions may require.

Your Committee further recommend that the "Bath Provident Institution" be conducted according to the following Rules and Orders:

1. That persons of either sex in the lower stations of life, having the means of supporting themselves by their own industry or provident conduct, whose income shall not amount to 60*l.* per annum, be allowed to deposit their savings with this Institution, and to receive an interest thereon.

2. That deposits of not less than One Shilling, and not more than Ten Pounds, be received from any individual at one time.

3. That money belonging to Minors be deposited in the joint names of the Parent or Guardian (if such there be) and one of the Managers of this Institution, on behalf of such Minor.

4. That Depositors, on making their first payment, do sign their names (if they can write) in a book kept at the office, which

may be compared with their hand-writing at a future time; And that they be furnished by the Actuary with the printed Rules of this Institution.

5. That Depositors, on their admission, be furnished by the Actuary with a Ticket or Certificate, on which entries are regularly to be made of all sums paid or received; which Ticket must always be produced when deposits are made, or money received.

6. That in case the Ticket be lost, a new one may be obtained by paying the Actuary 2s. 6d.; but should the original one be found, half the forfeit money will be returned.

7. That an interest of 9d. on the Pound per annum be paid once a year, commencing from the first quarter day after the deposits shall amount to 20s. But that no interest be paid for less than a quarter of a year, nor on any fractional sums or parts of a pound.

8. That the following be the quarterly times for receiving the interest at the office of this Institution, viz. On and after the 20th January, April, July, and October.

9. That Depositors desirous of withdrawing the whole, or even any part of their Capital, may be allowed so to do at either of the quarterly times for payment, on leaving with the Actuary a written notice twenty-one days previous to such quarter day.

10. That as soon as the deposits of any individual shall amount to the sum of 30l. he or she be required to withdraw such Capital, or to accept the assistance of this Society to place it in the Public Funds in his or her own name. Nevertheless that such Depositors be allowed to make fresh deposits as before.

11. That Depositors at their first admission to this Institution must reside in Bath, or within the following parishes in the vicinity of it, viz. * * * * *
But that subsequent removals shall not deprive them of the benefits of this Institution.

12. That Depositors and others applying to the office by letter must pay the postage, otherwise their business will not be attended to.

13. And lastly, Depositors refusing to comply with the Rules of the Institution, or being guilty of any unbecoming behaviour in respect thereof, will be liable to be discharged, having first been paid the amount of what is due to them.

By order of the Select Committee,

5th May, 1813.

W. DAVIS.

The following Gentlemen constituted the Committee.

Sir HORACE MANN, Bart. Chairman.

Right Hon. Lord Gwyder	John Ensor, Esq.
Sir R. Bedingsfeld, Bart.	Dr. Haygarth
Sir W. Cockburn, Bart.	Lieut.-Col. T. Shaw
Sir R. Wilmot, Bart.	Lieut.-Col. John Shaw
Sir Hugh Bateman, Bart.	Charles Best, Esq.
Sir Edward Leslie, Bart.	A. Jaffray, Esq.
Sir W. B. Hughes, Bart.	J. Mackglashan, Esq.
Sir J. Riggs Miller, Bart.	Lieut.-Col. Anstey
Rev. Thomas Leman	G. H. Tugwell, Esq.
Rev. J. Richards	Geo. Taylor, Esq.
Rev. R. Warner	W. Lutwyche, Esq.
John Parish, Esq.	Mr. W. Davis
J. Wiltshire, Esq.	Lieut.-Col. Enys
R. G. Temple, Esq.	Henry Man, Esq.
G. E. Allen, Esq.	D. B. Payne, Esq.
T. Clifford, Esq.	E. Bayley, Esq.
J. S. Duncan, Esq.	Webbe Weston, Esq.

FORTY THOUSAND DINNERS

Provided by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor in Sheffield, during the late Season of distress.

Sheffield Iris, August 31st, 1813.

The almost unprecedented distress experienced by the poor in this town, during the last winter, called for assistance of no common kind from both private and public benevolence. The SOCIETY FOR BETTERING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR, which has been established here for some years,—whose labours and effects, though unobtrusive and little known amongst the opulent, have been extensively experienced and gratefully acknowledged by the indigent,—saw the necessity for making vigorous exertions. They applied therefore to the Society in London for relieving the distressed manufacturing districts; and they received in consequence a grant of fifteen tons of salt fish, including two and a half for Rotherham. This being a kind of food with which the poor in this inland district were unacquainted, and to which they were disinclined, it was soon found that little of it would be sold, even at reduced prices, that from ignorance of the mode of cooking much of it would be wasted; and that, consequently, but little good would result from the liberal and benevolent grant.—In order, therefore, to make it produce the greatest possible

quantity of nutritious food, and, by rendering it palatable, induce the poor hereafter voluntarily to adopt it (when circumstances require it) as an article of food, they established five stations, in as many different districts of the town, at each of which some members of the Committee undertook to superintend the cooking and distributing, four times in each week, the salt fish mixed with mashed potatoes, at *one penny per pound*. This was continued *eight weeks*, till the salted cod-fish was consumed. The benefit which the town in general, and the poor in particular, derived from the exertions of the Society here, and the benevolence of the Society in London, may be in some degree appreciated, when it is considered that probably *forty thousand* dinners were afforded to the poor in this town for less than one penny each, besides the great quantity of fish which was sold in an uncooked state, at very low prices, with potatoes under prime cost.

Though the Society had the fish *gratis*, they incurred great expenses to defray freight, carriage, cooking, selling, &c. which, with the cost of two hundred and fifty loads of potatoes, left a balance against them of *more than one hundred pounds*. The Society being *before this* unable to meet the urgent and increasing calls, which the peculiar distresses of the times caused to be made upon them, are, from this additional and unprovided-for expenditure, under the necessity of calling upon the public for such temporary assistance as will relieve the present embarrassed state of their funds, and also conduce to enable them to extend permanently the relief which continues to be so much required. Below is a short statement of the accounts of the Society, as far as relates to the transaction in question.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Freight of carriage of fish.....	76	19	10			
Rent of shops and cooking places, wages for men selling fish, washing and peel- ing potatoes, &c, use of vessels, &c. &c.	123	1	8½			
250 loads potatoes, part cooked, and part sold with fish, and cooked at reduced prices	150	0	0			
				350	1	6½
Received for fish and potatoes when cooked.....	157	13	6			
Do. do. uncooked..	104	1	9½			
				241	15	3½
Balance against the Society.....				108	6	3

N. B. There remains unsold with the Society :

20 Barrels white pickled Herrings } *These may now be had at very*
 46 Do. Do. Pilchards } *low prices.*

There are now in Chester Castle eight boys ; three convicted of house-breaking ; two for trial for picking pockets to a large amount ; and three charged with privately stealing in shops : their united ages amounted to 96 years—average 12.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The *Thais*, Captain Scoble, lately arrived at Portsmouth, sailed from Sierra Leone on the 4th of August, and from Acra, on the Leeward coast, on the 3d of September. Prior to her quitting the coast, the *Favourite* and *Albicore* had arrived. The *Thais* was eighteen months on the coast. Though, unfortunately for the cause of humanity and the improvement of Africa, the Slave Trade is still carried on extensively under the Portuguese and Spanish flags, (the continuance of which will materially depend upon cases of appeal which are forthcoming for decision in the High Court of Admiralty,) yet we have the satisfaction to learn, that in June last, the *Thais* destroyed the last remaining factory for this traffic (at Masuredo) supported by British subjects. The proprietors of this establishment, John Bostock and Thomas M'Quin, were brought home in the *Thais*, and sentenced, under the late Slave Trade Felony Act, to be transported for 14 years. The *Thais* landed forty of her crew, commanded by Lieutenant Wilkins, to accomplish this act of humanity. The factors resisted, killed one man, and another was drowned when advancing to the assault. There were about 230 slaves in the factory, who were released. The *Thais* captured several vessels on the coast with slaves on board ; they were under Portuguese and Spanish flags. One of the vessels presented another instance of this horrible trade ; she was a smack of 189 tons burden, bound to the Brazils, with 375 slaves on board ; and it appeared, when the *Thais* took possession, that three of them had died from actual suffocation.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

Spoken at an Anniversary Meeting of the London Auxiliary Bible Society, held in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House, the 28th of October, 1818.

I beg leave to second the motion that has been just now made, and at the same time, in a few words, to observe, that it is a cheering consideration in the afflictive circumstances of a long-protracted war, that there is in this country a work going forward which is likely to sow the seeds of genuine and universal peace ; of peace resulting from good-will and Christian senti-

ments towards each other, on the part even of nations as well as of individuals.

This assembly, this respectable assembly, furnishes a practical illustration of the harmony of the minds of men of various religious denominations, uniting in their endeavours to diffuse the knowledge of Gospel truth, the knowledge of that glorious dispensation which, if it had its full effect in the world, would make the earth a garden of Eden, in which peace would have universal sway, in which innocence and happiness would dwell. May this harmony, without any invidious distinction of sect, increase and prevail.—I entertain a comfortable hope that this favoured city, amid the political convulsions of Europe, will never be overthrown for want of righteous men within it; may then truth, justice, and peace, ever mark the proceedings that take place under this roof; for truth leads to justice, and justice leads to peace.

ONE OF THE CAUSES OF WAR.

Who, that takes an accurate view of what has passed of late years in Europe, can doubt that war has raged with more destructive and sanguinary effect in this the nineteenth century of the Christian æra, than in any other age of the world; and *that* amongst nations professing the Christian religion,—a religion, with the principles of which war and all its horrors are utterly inconsistent.

Is not such outrageous violation of that system, which speaks peace on earth and good-will to men, to be referred to this source? namely, that amongst potentates and governments there exists no supreme, paramount, or controuling power, which has the effect of placing them in a state of civilization like their respective subjects.

In a community that is civilized, men are not allowed to avenge their own cause in case of injury or injustice; that is to say, to be judge, jury, and executioner in their own cause; the law is to decide and to redress. But what is the actual state of the case in this enlightened age of the world?

Potentates and governments, like the savages of the wilderness, resent an injury or an affront, whether it relates to a privilege of traffic, or to firing a gun, by plunging into hostility and war; entailing death or misery on thousands and tens of thousands of human beings, to say nothing of the wanton waste of treasure exacted from the hard-earned property of laborious industry; and at length, as to the cause of dispute, are glad to leave off where they began.

This, then, being the state of things existing in our own times, it is obviously an irrefutable truth, that there is no such thing existing on the face of the earth as a Christian government, strictly speaking; and whilst governments continue to exist in their present savage state, without any controlling power that shall bring their injuries to an equitable and effective adjudication, wars will continue to rage, be the religious profession of nations what it may.

IRENÆUS.

STATE OF NEWGATE.

Copy of a Presentment, as printed by order of the House of Commons, of the Grand Inquest for the City of London, made at the General Session of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace, holden for the said City, by Adjournment, at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, on the 3d of December, 1813.

Sessions-House, Old Bailey, Dec. 3, 1813.

The Grand Jury having visited his Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, beg to call the attention of the Court to the remedying the great inconvenience and danger arising from the crowded state of the Debtors' side of the Prison, which was built for the accommodation of one hundred prisoners, and which now contains three hundred and forty. The Female Criminal Department they beg leave to present as suffering from the same cause; the apartment set apart for them being built to accommodate sixty persons, and now containing about one hundred and twenty. The Female Convicts appear very destitute of necessary clothing, and many of the prisoners are without shoes. They likewise complain of a want of bed covering, particularly rugs; and they are greatly inconvenienced from the rain penetrating the roof. In other respects the Grand Jury have the pleasure to state, that the whole conduct of the prison gave them great satisfaction.

[Here follow the names of the Grand Jury.]

The above is a true Copy,

THOMAS SHELTON,

Clerk of the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer,
and of the Peace for the City of London.

SIERRA LEONE.

Many of our readers are doubtless aware that a considerable number of distinguished and highly benevolent characters formed an association, under the name of the Sierra Leone Company, with the view of promoting civilization and an innocent traffic on

the African continent. It is well known also, that from some cause or other the plan miscarried ; but a colony was established, partly consisting of black people brought from Nova Scotia, and partly of Maroons, originally from the Island of Jamaica : this colony exists to the present day. The Sierra Leone Company transferred the whole to Government on the 1st of January 1808 ; and, as large sums of the public money have been expended upon it, the public have a right to inquire how far the great objects for which this colony was founded, and these expenses incurred, have been obtained.

The affairs of Sierra Leone have, for some time past, been involved in much mystery ; it has indeed been well known that great discontentments have prevailed in the colony, and that, although it has existed twenty years, very little good effect has been produced upon the natives ; yet there have appeared to be almost insuperable obstacles to obtaining a clear and correct account of the causes which have in a great degree frustrated so noble a scheme. We trust, however, that the public will insist upon a development of these causes, if it serve for no other purpose than to afford a wholesome lesson to posterity, and to point out what ought to be avoided in all attempts of the kind. The first thing which one would think as most natural to occur to any ordinary capacity would be, to study the genius, habits, and even prejudices, of those individuals on whom the experiment of colonization was to be made ; to convince them that your object is solely their comfort and happiness, and that you have no little by-ends of your own to accomplish. Nothing, indeed, is more obvious, than the impossibility of providing for the comfort and happiness of people, before you are acquainted with their precise situation ; and yet, apparently, for want of attention to this plainest of all axioms, vast sums of money have been expended without answering any useful purpose ; and by pressing measures hostile to the feelings and prejudices of the people, the colony has lately been thrown into great confusion : a large proportion of the most industrious inhabitants have quitted it in disgust, and taken refuge in the territories of the native chiefs, some upon the Bullom shore, and others in the mountains. It appears that all the colonists were to be made soldiers who were capable of bearing arms ; and a colonial act was accordingly passed, the preamble of which asserts the right of employing them in any part of Africa, or even on board of ships ;—a large power truly, which some future Governor may employ to the most mischievous purposes. If it be maintained that the charter gives a right to frame such a law, it will surely be worth

while to inquire who had the merit of suggesting this clause.—The act having passed, and being extremely unpopular, it was thought necessary to enforce it by the following proclamation.

“George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain and Ireland, King, and so forth.

“A PROCLAMATION.

“Whereas, we have hitherto forbore carrying into effect the penalty consequent to refusal of the oath prescribed by an Act of our Governor and Council of this our Colony; bearing date the 20th of November 1811; under the idea that the whole of the inhabitants affected thereby would return to a proper sense of their duty; and this forbearance, instead of producing those salutary effects which we hoped would result from it, has, on the contrary, made erroneous impressions on many:

“We have, therefore, by and with the advice of our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, and also with the advice of our Council for this our colony, thought fit to issue this our royal proclamation, to publish and declare, that for the immediate safety, as well as future security of this infant colony, all persons coming within the limits of the aforesaid Act, or between the ages of thirteen and sixty, who by refusing to take the said militia oath, have set an example of disaffection and insubordination to their children and apprentices, have forfeited every right and title to all and every species of property, whether moveable or immoveable, and are hereby, agreeably to the first and second sections of the said Act, declared outlaws. That indulgence which we granted them from motives of humanity, and which they have not had either gratitude to appreciate, or thankfulness to acknowledge, draws fast to a close. Know, therefore, that as soon as the rains are well over, or on the 20th of November next ensuing, it is our will and pleasure, that every person coming within the operation of the Militia Act, and persisting in refusal to conform to this, or any other law by which our subjects are governed, shall cease to be residents in any part of the Peninsula of Sierra Leone. In conformity, however, with that moderation which has guided us in every measure of the government of this our colony, and which, by some, may have been ascribed to timidity; We are pleased to declare, that the Princess Charlotte, or some other of our vessels, shall convey to whatever part of the coast, in the neighbourhood, they may point out, such people, with their families, as are dissatisfied with our laws.

“Witness, His Excellency, CHARLES WILLIAM MAXWELL, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in, and over our colony of Sierra Leone, Chancellor ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same—at Freetown, the twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of Our Lord 1812, and in the fifty-second of our reign.

“GOD SAVE THE KING.”

The settlers on their part say, We have no objection to testify our allegiance to the Government, and will spend the last drop of our blood in defence of the colony; but we love our wives, we love our children, and cannot bear the idea of subjecting ourselves to an engagement which may separate us from them.

The Maroons, in particular, have shown themselves alert when the colony has been threatened with danger. They have naturally a strong sense of liberty, and look with peculiar abhorrence on that part of the military discipline which authorizes flogging; it is said that many of them would as readily submit to be shot as flogged: they have seen this punishment inflicted upon the wretched slaves in the West Indies, and would consider themselves for ever degraded were they to submit to it. With a lively remembrance of the horrors of slavery, they may reasonably look with suspicion upon an oath which would bind them to serve on ship-board, if required, lest their service might by possibility be extended to the West Indies. It appears, however, that the feelings and repugnance of the settlers were not to be attended to; the law was enforced, and the colony in a great measure depopulated;—more than 100 lots were deserted, the estimated value of which, with the buildings, amounts to between 5000*l*. and 6000*l*. The broad R was put upon the doors of the poor people who had fled; and the fruits of their labours in the little patches of ground which they had cultivated were destroyed, being plundered by the African corps and the captured negroes. We have lately heard that pains have been taken to prevail upon these poor people to return and take the oath; and that the greatest part of them, in order to save their little property, have complied, but that discontent still prevails, and we are quite sure that it must prevail till more rational plans are adopted. These things, we should think, are calculated to excite the attention of the African Institution; and we doubt not, from the known character of the Directors, they will be ready to inquire into the circumstances of the case. We can assure them, that when they once begin in this direction, they will find full scope for their benevolent exertion. We refrain from adding more upon this subject at present, as we purpose in our next Number to enter into the History of the Origin of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and to give an account of its past and present state, with the causes which appear to have prevented it from answering the public expectation.

MEMORIAL.

New Bedford Newspaper, Friday, July 16, 1813.

We have been favoured with the following copy of a MEMORIAL from the New England Yearly Meeting of Friends, to the National Legislature, which was presented to the Senate and House of Representatives on the 30th ult.

To the President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

THE religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, met in their annual assembly on Rhode Island, respectfully represent:

That during our deliberations upon the religious concerns of our Society, the great object of which is to promote the cause of righteousness on the earth, our minds have been affected with deep and serious consideration upon account of the present national calamity of war in which our once happy country is involved.

And although it is well known that a fundamental principle of our faith leads us to believe that war of every kind is unlawful to us, yet permit us to remark, what we consider very interesting to all who profess the Christian name, that the introduction of the gospel dispensation was hailed by the angelic host with "Peace on earth; good will to men"—and by our gracious Redeemer it was pronounced, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

We have, with great unanimity, concurred in the belief that it is our religious and civil duty to address you at this time, and most respectfully to solicit your reconsideration of the effects and consequences of the present unhappy war, upon the religious, moral, and temporal prosperity of the citizens of our beloved country; and to intreat, that you will be pleased to omit no opportunity of sheathing the sword, even during the pending negotiations, and to restore to our nation the blessings of peace.

We feel emboldened in thus addressing you, from a consciousness that we love our country, that we feel deeply interested in its preservation and prosperity, and are very desirous of doing every thing in our power to promote its welfare. And under the consideration that it is "Righteousness that exhalteth a nation," it is the solicitude of our hearts, that He who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will," may so influence your minds as to enable you impressively to feel the responsibility attached to your stations, that you may seek after the counsel of His will, and be obedient thereunto; that thereby you may be instrumental in exalting the standard of righteousness to the hastening of that happy period foretold by the prophet, wherein "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more!"

Signed in and by direction of our said Meeting held at Newport,
17th of 6th Month, 1813. WILLIAM ROTCH, jun. Clerk.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE BIBLE AND SCHOOL COMMISSION.

By the following advertisements published at the Cape of Good Hope, in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser of the 3d and the 10th of July 1813, it appears that there the two great objects so intimately connected with each other, viz. the General Circulation of the Scriptures and the Education of the Poor, have been wisely blended into one, and thus the undivided energy of the benevolent will be made to produce its fullest effect. Sir John Cradock, the Governor, has opened the subscription with 1000 rix-dollars : in the first week it amounted to 3980, and in the next week to 8268. The liberal and enlightened views displayed in this production, while they do honour to all the parties concerned, hold out an animating example to the Governors of other Colonies.

" GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

" The two great pursuits that seem universally on the present day to occupy the attention of that portion of the civilized world which is not actually engaged in war, or involved in its mournful consequences, are the more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the solid establishment of such a system of Education as will enable the People to reach and behold the Divine Light contained in those Sacred Writings.

" All that will inspire benevolence, charity, and peace among men ; all that will promote good order in society ; all that will make the faithful subject, as well as the useful and amiable individual ; in fine, all that will crush vice and rear up virtue, that will secure happiness in this life, and afford the best hope of heaven in the world to come, is to be found therein.

" Therefore the good, the wise, and philanthropic part of mankind have now devoted themselves to the plain and practical consideration of such measures as will secure the great effect in view, the Study of the Scriptures.

" Education alone can accomplish it.

" Unless then a due proportion of Education, by the operation and authority of Government, prevail in a country throughout all classes of its inhabitants, every reflecting man will deem it vain, and a waste of good intention and generous spirit, to expect that the unconnected distribution of the Bible can produce that expanded knowledge of Sacred Truth which, in the comprehensive and undistinguishing view of humanity, should be the lot of all.

" An appeal is therefore now made to the whole inhabitants of this great Colony to establish a System of Education that will give the required understanding of the Scriptures, and at the same time lay the foundations among the humbler ranks of civilised, moral, and industrious life.

" Were any incitement wanting but that of the benevolent and patriotic spirit inherent in the Settlement, observation may be directed to the words and acts of all the good and great in Europe, displayed in every recent publication ; and it will be seen that the highest and most illustrious names have led the way, and that even the whole splendour and influence of royalty, throughout all its branches, is united in this sublime work.

" It had been in the contemplation of this Government to direct a general taxation through the several districts, commensurate with the expenses (however fluctuating) of School Education, within the Province ; and nothing, if through necessity it be resorted to, can be more just and equal than the operation of this assessment ; but rather let it be now assumed with confidence, that a cold and calculating measure of this nature will not satisfy the impatient ardor of the public ; and that the whole body of the community, according to their ability, will anxiously press forward to create a common and extensive fund, which will

alike secure the incessant distribution of the Scriptures, and the uniform progress of Education.

"The School Commission, to whom the Government and the Public are so much indebted for their zealous and enlightened labours, will be earnestly solicited not only to continue but enlarge their sphere of superintendence and action; and with assurance it is admitted, that as the means to do good and promote the best interests of the Colony will be increased and placed under their guard, they in proportion will overlook the additional trouble imposed upon them, and gladly enter upon a further task that promises so heartfelt a reward.

"The Governor will in future be stiled the Patron of the 'Bible and School Commission,' the designation hereafter of the Establishment, that he may invariably give the whole weight of Government to the progress of the Institution, and the aid and support of its finance.

"The Colonial Secretary will also be added to the Bible and School Commission, that the most direct means may be pursued to advance and accelerate its operations.

"The Military Chaplain and the Minister of Simons Town will be appointed regular Members; and the Clergymen of the Country districts, being already Honorary Members, are expected upon their visits to Cape Town, to more fully impart to the Bible and School Commission the circumstances of their respective Parishes, and communicate whatever, in their opinion, is likely to aid the special object in view.

"The expenditure of the Fund in agitation will be laid before the public in the Gazette, at the expiration of every six months; and a detailed account given of the Bibles distributed in each language, and of every other measure adopted to widely extend 'Religious Education.' The respective contributions, with the aggregate sum, will also appear in each succeeding number.

"They will be received by the Deputy Colonial Secretary Receiver General, Directors of the Bank, Secretaries to the Orphan Chamber and School Commission, Deputy Fiscal at Simons Town, and all Landdrosts, Deputy Landdrosts, and Clergymen in the country districts, and deposited in the Discount Bank.

"Every well-wisher to this Colony, in the just pride to place it upon the foundation and in the rank it may so well aspire to; every friend to the human race has now the opportunity to substantiate his sentiments: and by positive act, shew that gratitude to the protecting Deity, so much called for, if he duly reflect upon the peace and security, the ease and comfort this Settlement enjoys, beyond the lot perhaps of any other portion of the globe.

"Castle of Good Hope, 1st July, 1813.

"By command of his Excellency the Governor,

"(Signed)

"H. ALEXANDER, Sec.

* * "The smallest contributions will be esteemed proofs of the same religious and patriotic spirit as the highest donations."

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"As it may be supposed that many who have read the last week's Gazette, are but imperfectly informed of what is principally intended by "the more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the solid establishment of a correspondent System of Education," the Members of the Bible and School Commission, are desirous, by the following remarks, to place in a clearer light the real tendency and the distinguished usefulness of the plan made known by the Government Advertisement of last Saturday.

"The Bible, comprehending the revealed truths of which we make profession, as it must be in highest estimation with, ought to be in the hands of every Christian.—From a due sense of this, several Christians, at different periods, have formed themselves into Societies, or have collected the necessary means, with a view to bring the Bible in every language, in which Christ is preached and the doctrines of Christianity are professed, within the reach of their poorer and less enlightened fellow-Christians.—The most extensive endeavours of this sort have been made lately in Great Britain, and by the generous and pious zeal of the numerous and wealthy friends of Christianity in that kingdom, several Christian nations in Europe, in Asia, and America, who did not possess the Bible

in their native language, or could not obtain it without difficulty and heavy expense, have been amply, and in many instances gratuitously supplied.—The Continent of Africa among all these, till now, is the least enlightened by the light of the Gospel; and as the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is perhaps the most extensive Christian Dominion in all that Continent, every one ought fervently to wish, that our blessed Religion may be most universally known and established here; that the means, which are now within our reach, for bringing men to the knowledge and practice of this Religion, may be multiplied here—may be so improved and established, as to diffuse, if possible, into the more interior countries of benighted Africa, those blessings which we have ourselves enjoyed.—It is however certain, that several Christian families in this Colony, from their particular situation, have no means nor opportunity of procuring a Bible to themselves, or of supplying their children and servants with it. These circumstances united have led to the formation of a plan for circulating more extensively the Holy Scriptures in this Settlement, and for offering this gift to every one who desires it through the medium of the Bible and School Commission.

“In conjunction with the different Clergymen and other Christian Teachers in this Colony, the Bible and School Commission will endeavour to be informed, where, by whom, in what quantity, and in what language, the Bible may be wanted throughout this Settlement.

“The Bibles requisite, according to such informations, will be ordered by the Bible and School Commission, such will be distributed to the indigent, either at reduced prices, or gratuitously. Moreover, every Benefactor (to the funds of the Bible and School Commission) of the sum of 100 Rds. at once, or any annual Subscriber for 50 Rds. will be entitled to purchase, at the amount of two thirds of his donation, at reduced prices from the Bible and School Commission. Every Benefactor and Subscriber, besides this, will be entitled to receive every six months a short printed account of the proceedings of the Bible and School Commission, together with an abstract of receipts and disbursements.

“That an institution of this nature is deserving of the support of all inhabitants, not only of Cape Town, but even of the most distant districts, needs not any further demonstration or proof.

“The mere distribution, however, of the Bible, especially in this Colony, without being accompanied by that Education, which must afford the means of understanding it, would be defective. To such who cannot read, or cannot understand what they read, the Bible becomes a closed book, and an useless gift. For this reason, His Excellency the Governor has some time ago taken measures to establish Schools, even in the most distant districts, and to render the means of Instruction attainable; notwithstanding these benevolent measures, there remains a considerable number of children, especially in Cape Town and in the Villages, who are not properly Educated, partly on account of poverty, partly from a bad mode of teaching, partly from a dislike of exertion, order and discipline. Government therefore now desires, through the means of the Bible and School Commission, to remedy this also, and to introduce for that purpose, by degrees, the System of Education established in England by Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster; a System, which, being chiefly calculated for the poor and most neglected class of children, has produced the most salutary effects in promoting religious and moral improvement, and therefore has met, as may be seen also in the last week's Gazette, with deserved and universal applause. For the better apprehension of this new System, the following abstract has been made of its peculiarities:

“1. The tuition of the School by the Scholars themselves, becoming the teachers of younger children, by which aid one master is able to teach 1000 children.

“2. The children are taught to write on sand, which is found to be particularly attractive to the mind of the child, and to be attended with the most wonderful effect; inasmuch as a child of three years and a half old, has been known in the space of four months to learn and write on the sand board, words of one syllable.

"3. The children are taught to spell by papers with the alphabet printed or written in large characters, fixed against the wall, around which the children stand with a tutor to direct them; and instruction is given in arithmetic by dictation, from the master.

"4. Emulation is excited by putting the best scholars in the highest place in each class, and medals, &c. are given to such who most distinguish themselves.

"5. A System of discipline is employed towards the preservation of order, cleanliness, &c.

"6. Thus time is saved,—as every child in the school is constantly and usefully employed during the hours of attendance; trouble again is avoided, by the mode of marching from their places to be heard by the master or teacher, without noise or confusion; every one knows precisely what he has to do, and care is taken that he does it. The economy too of the new system is evident; sand, slates, and slate pencils being substituted for pens, ink, and paper; and sheets of paper, with printed or written letters or syllables, that are placed against the walls, in the room of books.

"The system, moreover, has been already tried here, in the military schools of this garrison; and has not only been found really practicable, but has been attended with the best success.

"It is therefore the desire of the Bible and School Commission to establish without delay a Public Free School in Cape Town, according to this plan, and to make use of all such means for this purpose as are at hand.

"At the same time, the Commission will endeavour to obtain from Europe one Master at least, who has been trained up according to this System, and who understands the Dutch language. They will also take care to educate in this School young men of character and ability, for the profession of Schoolmaster, with a view that such young men in future may fill up the vacancies that occur in the different places through the colony.

"The establishing only of one School in Cape Town, according to the principles of the new System, will necessarily lead to the erection of more Schools at the villages upon the same model; and will have a salutary influence upon all other Schools, in transferring a spirit of order and discipline, so remarkable in the System, if even they should not be conducted according to the new mode, or be entirely transformed in every detail to its peculiarities.

"This then is the manner in which the Members of the Bible and School Commission intend to proceed, in order to effect, under the Divine Blessing, 'the more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and to establish 'a solid System of Education.'

"The main object is, 1st. to spread indiscriminately among all classes of this community religious light. 2dly. to render the numerous and most neglected class of children capable of comprehending religious notions and principles of moral conduct, and to do this through a simple, cheap, and most successful mode of teaching.

"What therefore some of the religious and philanthropic inhabitants several years since have endeavoured already of themselves to accomplish, namely, the spreading of religious and mental improvement, is now to be completed by the united efforts of all. Such is the sacred and benevolent work, which at this moment all friends of religion and the happiness of mankind in this Colony are called upon to support; this, the work which the eminent Patron his Excellency Sir John Cradock, (in imitation of his illustrious Sovereign and the Royal Family) and all the Members of the Bible and School Commission, trusting in such liberal assistance, will, with the blessing of God, forward with their best zeal, and to the utmost of their abilities.

"Cape Town, July 8th, 1819.

"C. FLECK, Act. President.

"H. ALEXANDER,

"J. H. VON MANGER.

"C. H. F. HESSE, Secr.

"R. JONES.

"P. J. TRUTER, JUN.

"C. V. NULDT ONKRUUTBY."

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

No. XIV.

History of the Colony of Sierra Leone.

IT was stated in a former Number of THE PHILANTHROPIST, that the black poor in London and its vicinity, who had been fed in the year 1786 by the bounty of the late Mr. Granville Sharp and others, were collected in 1787, and put on board the ship *Myro*, to be conveyed to Sierra Leone, there to get their own living by their industry, and to form an independent community of themselves. Very little more was then said of them than that they landed, and that they experienced many hardships. It will be proper therefore, as we profess to furnish something like a History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, to give a more detailed, though a short, account of them, both before and after their arrival at it.

When they set sail from London their number exceeded 400, and they were accompanied by several white adventurers, of whom the greater part were women, chiefly of the lowest order, in ill health, and of but very moderate character. They experienced adverse winds and a long detention in the Channel. In consequence of this, and the disorders which many had brought on board with them, and which had been previously aggravated by drunkenness and debauchery, they came into Plymouth, where they were obliged to put in by stress of weather, in a very sickly state. Fifteen found means after their arrival there to leave the ship, and no less than 50 of them died.

The remainder, some of whom were yet very weak, proceeded on their voyage; and though the sea air contributed to bring a part of them back to convalescence, yet the constitutions of 34 of them had been so impaired, that they paid the debt to nature on their passage; so that, including the runaways and all the deceased, about 100 were lost to the intended settlement before they arrived at it.

At length the *Myro*, accompanied by her convoy, the *Nautilus*

sloop of war, under the command of Captain, now Admiral Thompson, cast anchor in St. George's Bay, a deep and noble bay opposite to the intended settlement, and commanding a fine view of the lofty mountains of Sierra Leone, which were seen rising above each other, and crowned with continued forests of verdant wood: The first step to be taken was to secure to the new comers peaceable possession of part of the territory before them, by the regular purchase of it from the native chiefs. Captain Thompson accordingly made a bargain with King Tomb, that is, King of Mitombo, who was the nearest of the neighbouring chiefs, and received of him, in consideration of certain articles of merchandize then delivered, a grant of land, supposed to be about 20 miles square, on the banks of the river; but as King Tomb was a vassal of King Naimbanna, who lived in the Island of Robanna, higher up the river, Captain Thompson thought it proper to obtain a similar grant by a similar purchase from the latter.

It happened very unfortunately, from unexpected delays in the outfit of the *Myro*, and detention at Plymouth and in the Channel, that she did not reach her destination in Africa till after the rainy (the most unhealthy) season there had commenced, and before which time every family carried there ought to have been under permanent shelter on shore. Captain Thompson, however, did the best he could for them. He assisted them in raising their huts: he protected them while doing it; and, when he left them, he took care that a handsome quantity of provisions should be landed for their support for a given time. But no care on his part could control the effects of the climate, and more especially on the bodies of those who had arrived in a diseased state. Sick-ness began to spread; and in four months after their arrival 86 others were numbered with the dead, among whom was Mr. Irwin the conductor, the schoolmaster, and about 20 of the most respectable of the whites.

The rains being over, the survivors, reduced now (blacks and whites together) to about 250, began to grow seasoned. It appears that from September 1787 to January 1789 they lost only about eight persons by the climate. During this time they had an excellent form of government under which to live, as drawn out for them by the late Mr. Granville Sharp; but, unfortunately, too many of them wished to rule, and too many disliked restraint, so that they were in general disorderly, and quarrelled often among themselves. They were also, too many of them, given to drunkenness. In such a state they would soon have fallen a prey to the slave-dealers, had not King Naimbanna protected them. Every effort was made by these miscreants to poison the mind of

the latter against them; but he not only signified his concern for their welfare, but settled several of the disputes which they had with the natives as well as with one another. They were in general far from industrious; and yet, by a moderate application to cultivation, they produced from the earth a sufficiency of food for the community. They raised also poultry, of which the increase was wonderful, so that, though they had but a small, they had an increasing property; and they might have done well, as far as getting a plentiful livelihood was concerned, but for the following unlooked-for occurrence: Captain Savage was sent by Government in the Pomona frigate, at the latter end of the autumn 1788, to carry out Sir William Dolben's bill, which regulated the number of slaves to be carried according to the tonnage of the vessel, and to serve it upon all English slave-ships which might be then on the coast of Africa. Having visited the Gambia and other rivers, he came at length into that of Sierra Leone, and anchored in the vicinity of the settlement. While lying there, Captain Bowie, of the slave-factory at Bence Island, came to him to complain of an injury which his employers had sustained from King Jammy, who was the successor to King Tomb, then deceased, and to desire him to punish the latter. Captain Savage, irritated by the representations made, too easily gave into the request. Accordingly an officer and boat's crew, in which were some marines, was sent just before dusk on shore. These made the best of their way, Bowie acting as their guide, to the town where King Jammy lived. When they arrived there, not an inhabitant was to be found. Bowie, incensed at this, fired a pistol into the thatch of the house belonging to the king, which immediately took fire; and the fire spreading, not only the king's house but several others were consumed. Soon after this guns were fired by King Jammy's people in return, who lay in ambush in the woods, by which a lieutenant of the frigate, the serjeant of marines, and two or three others were killed, and some wounded; the latter of whom were with great difficulty, in the dark, brought down to the shore by those who had escaped unhurt. The next day Captain Savage brought his guns to bear upon the remnant of the town, and destroyed it as well as the neighbouring woods. Soon after this he left the river, but without being able to bring about a reconciliation between himself and King Jammy. After his departure the king sent a formal notice to the settlers, that as King George had destroyed his town, so he would destroy theirs, but gave them three days' notice, that they might leave it without suffering the consequences of an attack. Finding resistance would be to no purpose, they obeyed the message, and accord-

ingly left their houses, plantations, and great quantities of poultry behind them. For five or six weeks Bowie gave them protection on Bob's Island in the neighbourhood; but they were sent afterwards to Par (Father) Boson's Town, 12 miles higher up into the country. Here a part of them were allowed to reside, and the rest were distributed in the villages round about.

Dispersed in this manner, a general fear came upon them, that they should be privately taken off one after the other, and sold for slaves. Some, upon whom this fear operated more powerfully, determined to take the first opportunity of escaping. A few in consequence found their way to England by engaging on board wood and ivory ships, which, having completed their cargoes in the river, were returning home. Others took the desperate resolution of entering themselves as sailors in such slave-vessels as were passing, hoping to reach England through the medium of America and the West Indies. The rest determined to await their fate. In process of time some of these were unhappily betrayed in the manner they had so much dreaded. Others, though not many of them, died; and the rest lived like the natives, gradually adopting their customs. In the year 1791 Mr. Falconbridge, who made a short visit to Sierra Leone at the request of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, then just instituted, made an inquiry after them; and following his information, he found 48 of them at Par Boson's Town and in the vicinity of it. These he brought back as far as Foré Bay, which was within a mile and a half of their original settlement. Sixteen others, who were then living in other parts of the interior, but who happened to hear what Mr. Falconbridge had done, found means to join their former companions. Of the 64 now united 39 were black men, 19 were black women, and six were whites of the latter sex. A few others, all that were then left, came in afterwards; so that their number was swelled to between 70 and 80 persons. These joined in building a town on the land which was washed by Foré Bay. They called it Granville Town in honour of their benevolent patron Mr. Granville Sharp; and there Mr. Falconbridge left them when he returned to England, having previously supplied them with cutlery to barter for necessaries, and arms and ammunition for their defence.

We must now leave this first stock of Sierra Leone settlers and proceed to the second, after which the history will go on in a more regular course. In the year 1791, Parliament having refused to comply with the petitions of the people for the abolition of the slave-trade, the Sierra Leone Company was established. The object of this Institution was to colonize a small portion of

the coast of Africa. They who were to settle there were to have no concern in the slave-trade, but to discourage it as much as possible. They were to endeavour also to establish a new species of commerce, and to promote agriculture through the medium of free labour. To aid the Directors of the said Company in their benevolent designs, Government transferred to them the land which Captain Thompson had bought of the Kings Tomb and Nainbanna. It became of course a question with the Directors how they were to people it. The first step they took was to send out Mr. Falconbridge, before mentioned, to Sierra Leone, to ascertain, among other things, how many of the original settlers remained there. As the number was found to be only what we have just described, it was thought necessary to add to it. Just at this time Thomas Peters, a black man, arrived in London with a petition to Mr. Dundas, then one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, in behalf of his black brethren in Nova Scotia. The latter had been slaves in North America; but when the war broke out between England and the latter, they had run away from their masters and joined the British standard, and they had fought, and many of them had bled under it. Government, as a reward for their services, had sent them at the conclusion of the war to Nova Scotia, where they were to have 50 acres of land to each family; *but this promise had never been fulfilled.* They dispatched, therefore, Thomas Peters to England with the above petition, in which they humbly requested either to have their lots granted them as promised, or to be provided for in any other country where the wisdom of His Majesty's Government might think proper to send them. Peters being then in London with the above petition, and hearing by accident of the formation of the Sierra Leone Company, and that the said company were desirous of adding settlers to those who had been sent out by Mr. Sharp in the ship Myro, made application to see the Directors of it. This application produced an interview between them. After this followed an interview between some of the Directors of the said Company and the Government. Suffice it to say, the result of these different interviews was, that Peters was to return to Nova Scotia, and to inquire of his black brethren there if they were willing to emigrate to Sierra Leone. In this case the Government was to defray the expense of their conveyance thither, and the Company was to give them grants of the land which had been purchased of the natives by Captain Thompson. Matters being thus understood, Peters left England, and returned to Nova Scotia to consult those who had employed him as the bearer of their petition.

As it was probable that a considerable number of the free blacks, after seeing Peters, might resolve upon emigrating, it became a matter of serious concern to the Directors how they should provide against the event. They were soon, however, relieved from all embarrassment on this subject. Mr. John Clarkson, a young gentleman, then a lieutenant in His Majesty's navy, and brother of Mr. Thomas Clarkson, who had taken a part with Mr. Wilberforce and others in the great cause of the abolition of the slave-trade, volunteered his services to the Directors on the occasion. He offered to go to Nova Scotia to collect such free blacks as were willing to go to Sierra Leone, and to accompany them there. This offer was cordially accepted. It was judged, however, expedient that the Directors should state explicitly to Lieutenant Clarkson, before he proceeded on his voyage, the terms upon which they would be willing to receive the black emigrants into their colony. A Court was therefore called for the consideration of the subject, when they came to the following resolutions upon it :

"The Sierra Leone Company, willing to receive into their colony such free blacks as are able to produce to their agents, Lieutenant Clarkson of His Majesty's navy, and Mr. Lawrence Harts-horn of Halifax, or either of them, *satisfactory testimonials of their character, (more particularly as to honesty, sobriety, and industry,)* think it proper to notify in an explicit manner upon what terms they will receive at Sierra Leone those who bring with them written certificates of approbation from either of the said agents, which certificate they are hereby respectively authorized to grant or withhold at discretion.

"It is therefore declared by the Company that every free black, upon producing such a certificate, shall have a *grant of not less than 20 acres of land for himself, 10 for his wife, and 5 for every child, upon such terms, and subject to such charges and obligations, with a view to the general prosperity of the Company, as shall hereafter be settled by the Company in respect to the grants of land* to be made by them to all settlers, whether black or white.

"That for all stores and provisions, &c. supplied from the Company's warehouses, the Company shall receive an equitable compensation according to fixed rules, extending to blacks and whites indiscriminately.

"That the civil, military, personal, and commercial rights and duties of blacks and whites shall be the same, and secured in the same manner.

"And for the full assurance of personal protection from slavery

to all such black settlers, the Company have subjoined a clause contained in the act of parliament whereby they are incorporated, viz. ' Provided also, and be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the said Company, either directly or indirectly, by itself or themselves, or by the agents or servants of the said Company, or otherwise howsoever, to deal or traffic in the buying or selling of slaves, or in any manner whatever to have, hold, appropriate, or employ any person or persons in a state of slavery in the service of the said Company.' "

Lieutenant Clarkson having been furnished with this public document, dated August 2, 1791, embarked on board the Ark at Gravesend on the 19th of the same month, and, after a tedious passage of 49 days, arrived at Halifax on the 7th of October. He was politely received by the Governor. He learnt from Mr. Hartshorn that Thomas Peters, the black deputy, had arrived some days before him, and that he had proceeded to New Brunswick to give an account to his constituents of the result of his mission. The first employment of Lieutenant Clarkson was to take the terms as printed by the Directors, and to circulate them, in conjunction with Mr. Hartshorn, through those parts of the country where the free blacks principally lived. That it might not be said that things had been done clandestinely, he resolved that he would transact no business in his official capacity but in a public room. Accordingly he provided one for the purpose, and declared it open to all visitors. By these means he gave every one an opportunity of knowing what was going forward. Here, if a free black intended to emigrate to get rid of any debt, he might be seen by his creditor. Here, if he had violated the laws of the country, and had escaped, he might be recognised. By these means he also gave himself an opportunity of knowing what were the objections to the scheme which he had come there to promote, and of correcting himself where he might have been led into error. It may be observed here that the room in question was generally crowded. The Bishop, the Chief Justice, the merchant, with many others, all frequented it in turn.

His next employment was to visit the free blacks who were more immediately in the neighbourhood. There were several in and about the town of Halifax. At Preston, about four miles from the opposite side of the river, there were as many, if not more. He began his visit at the latter place. He was struck with the deplorable situation of most of those with whom he conversed there; and as the description of the condition of these is generally applicable to that of those whom he visited in other places, one account, if given here, may serve for the whole. It appeared

that the land they had was in general very poor, and sometimes rocky and swampy, *so that all their labour was lost upon it; and they had nothing else to support them. Some had been actually obliged to give it up on this account.* These had been compelled, for want of subsistence, to cultivate the lands of white men, on condition of receiving half the produce, or upon terms exceedingly disadvantageous. *Of the country or 50-acre lots, the quantity originally promised them by Government, few individuals; if any, had yet seen them, though some had paid the fees for them.* Very few of them had lots of *more than an acre*, and these few, where the land was good, were doing well. "Had we," said one of the free blacks in conversation, "*received our full allotments on our arrival, when we were allowed provision for three years from that time, we might have cultivated them to great advantage; so that, when our provisions were stopped, they would have afforded us a comfortable support; but now, as things are, we are in a starving state.*" To this it may be added, that a few had been seduced, under various pretences of bettering their condition, into the United States, where *they were sold for slaves, and that several had perished through the inclemency of the climate.*

It soon began to appear, as may easily be imagined from the preceding description of their condition, that, wherever the Company's proposals were made known to them, they manifested a general disposition to accept them. In Shelburn and Birch Town, where Mr. Hartshorn had sent some account of them previously to Lieutenant Clarkson's arrival, it was currently reported that numbers were inclined to emigrate. Colonel Bluck, a man of colour, and colonel of a black regiment of pioneers in the American war, and who then lived in Birch Town, had written to Mr. Hartshorn, as early as the 14th of October, to learn the particulars of the Company's proposals, as many, he said, in whose welfare he was interested, had thoughts of changing their condition, if they approved them. On the 16th Thomas Peters had signified by letter, that his countrymen in and about Annapolis and Digby were in high spirits at the prospect; and on the 19th 79 of the free blacks, consisting of men, women, and children, inhabitants of Halifax and Preston, gave in their names for embarkation. As all intelligence received relative to the adventurers was soon made known both in the town and country, through the medium of the public room before mentioned, the facts now related of the disposition of the free blacks began to excite alarm. Too many of the white inhabitants who had had the benefit of their labour, were now unwilling to part with

them on that account. They began to paint to themselves the loss which the country would sustain by their emigration. Hence reports were industriously spread to thwart, if not to prevent, the expedition. It was rumoured that all Mr. Sharp's colonists at Sierra Leone had been murdered by King Jammy, and that it would be death to the free blacks to go there. It was stated also that the Sierra Leone Company had made promises which, it was to be feared, they never intended to perform. Hence they had omitted to fill up one of the clauses in their printed terms, to which afterwards they might give any construction they pleased. They had promised the free blacks handsome allotments of land in Africa; but then these were to be subject "*to terms, charges, and obligations, which were hereafter to be settled by the Directors.*" Why, on such an occasion, had they not explained themselves at once? The terms, charges, and obligations, they added, could mean nothing else *but a rent upon the land*, and probably an exorbitant one, which they who emigrated would find to their cost when they arrived there. To these assertions Lieutenant Clarkson and Mr. Hartshorn replied, that the Directors could have no intention of charging a rent upon the land, for this would not be benefiting the free blacks, seeing that Government had sent orders that they should immediately be put in possession of every acre promised them, and this in an advantageous situation, if they chose to remain where they were. They could mean only by the words in the clause *some tax or impost for charitable purposes, such as for the maintenance of their poor, the care of their sick, and the education of their children, which expenses were not to fall upon the Company, but upon themselves.* Such were the objections and such were the answers on these occasions. The reader is desired to bear them in mind, as they may throw light on the subsequent history of the colony of Sierra Leone. The time now came when it was necessary that the Government of Halifax should know explicitly the determination of the free blacks on the subject of their emigration, and for what number a passage to Africa was to be provided. Accordingly Governor Parr sent off Mr. Clark, a resident of the latter place, to Annapolis; and Lieutenant Clarkson, accompanied by Mr. Taylor, whom the Directors had sent out to him to act as surgeon to the emigrants on the voyage, embarked on board the Dolphin schooner for Shelburn. Soon after his arrival there, David George, a black preacher, contrived to see him. George had been deputed by his congregation for this purpose. He informed the Lieutenant of the pains that had been taken at Shelburn to defeat the in-

tended kindness of the English Government towards them. A hand-bill had been posted up, which gave an account of the melancholy end of the colonists who had embarked from England to Sierra Leone under the auspices of Mr. Sharp. It was rumoured also that the present adventurers, who were to fill up the places of the latter, were to be made to pay a heavy rent for their land. These and other stories were current. The white inhabitants, he said, were averse to any plan which tended to deprive them of the assistance of the free blacks in the cultivation of their lands, which they then had almost upon their own terms, and without a suitable payment for it. His companions, he added, were kept in a very abject state of servitude, and could not extricate themselves from it. He begged it might not be known that he, David George, had been conversing with him, as his life would be endangered by it. After this Lieutenant Clarkson waited upon Major Skinner, who had been nominated by the Government at Halifax as their agent in the business, and then proceeded publicly to declare his errand to the place.

The next day he rode over to Birch Town. Here he found that the old stories just mentioned had been propagated. The free blacks, to the number of between 3 and 400, including men, women, and children, flocked about him, and anxiously desired to have a true statement of the Company's terms. This town was inhabited solely by black people. As it began to rain, they invited him to go into their church, and, that they might hear him better, to ascend the pulpit. This he did; but the most awful sensations came immediately upon him. He began almost to repent of the task he had undertaken in coming to Nova Scotia. Reflecting upon what he should say to them, it struck him forcibly, that perhaps the future welfare and happiness, nay the very lives of the individuals then before him, might depend in a great measure upon the words which he should deliver, and he felt himself obliged to pause before he could speak. At length he rose up, and explained circumstantially the object, progress, and result of the embassy of Thomas Peters to England. He then read extracts from the letter, a copy of which had been sent him, from Mr. Dundas to Governor Parr, and commented on the three proposals made in it. The free blacks might enrol themselves for soldiers to serve in the West Indies; or they might go to Sierra Leone at the Government expense, as a reward for their past services; or they might remain in Nova Scotia, in which case Mr. Dundas insisted that the Government at Halifax "*should immediately grant them the full proportions of land which had been promised them, and in a situation so advantageous, as might*

make them some atonement for the injury they had suffered by this unaccountable delay." These propositions, he said, were now before them, and they might take their choice. He then read to them aloud the terms of the Sierra Leone Company. When he came to the clause containing *terms, charges, and obligations, which were hereafter to be settled by the Directors*, the auditors said they did not understand it. Upon this he explained it *in the manner before described*. After some observations upon each of the proposals which His Majesty's Government had made to them, he professed that he had come over to them as a disinterested person. He should neither gain nor lose any thing by their going to Sierra Leone. He had volunteered his services on the occasion, under the hope that he might possibly do them good. He begged them not to be led away by any exaggerated accounts of the genial climate or fertile soil of Africa, nor by the novelty of the thing, but to take three days for consideration, during which time he would remain at Shelburn, before they made their choice. If there were people among them who had surmounted the local difficulties of their situation, and were getting up in the world, he exhorted them not to give up what was certain for what was precarious, or to hazard a change. With respect to those who were so badly off that they might reasonably expect to be bettered by emigration, he set before them the difficulties necessarily attendant upon a new colony. He told them explicitly, that if they were not determined to work in Africa, they would most probably starve; in which case he hoped that they would not blame him if their situation there had not answered their expectations. He promised them nothing at first but hardships, difficulties, and dangers, but he was ready to share with them in all. While they behaved properly they should always experience his care and protection, but no longer. On their passage they should be properly attended to: they should have all reasonable accommodation, with good and wholesome provisions: the masters and seamen should be instructed to respect them; and on their arrival in Africa they should be *put into the immediate possession of their lands*.

The meeting being over, he returned to Shelburn. During his stay there, which was three days, the greater part of the free blacks of the place as well as of Birch Town delivered in their names for embarkation. He prevailed however afterwards upon several families to erase them. These were persons of respectable property, and who were doing well. On conversing with those who came to him, upon their motives for the change, they generally threw their own hard condition out of the account, and

declared that they were led to it for the sake of their children, whom they wished (to use their own expressions) "to see established on a better foundation." A very affecting scene took place while engaged in one of his conversations on this subject. John Coltness, a black man, came to him to deliver his wife and children into his hands, and to recommend them to his kind care and protection. Coltness was himself a slave, and could go no where but where his master pleased; but his wife and children were free. With tears streaming down his cheeks he said, that, "though the separation would be as death to him, yet he had come to the resolution of giving them up for ever, convinced that such a measure would be for their future good. He was regardless, he said, of himself, or of what he might hereafter suffer; for though sunk to the lowest state of wretchedness, he could at all times cheer himself with the reflection, that those whom he loved were happy." Much more he said, and in a manner peculiarly pathetic and moving. It would be difficult to describe either the nobility of soul which the poor slave manifested, or the feelings which he excited in those who were present. Lieutenant Clarkson was particularly affected, and immediately resolved in his own mind to purchase his freedom. For this purpose he staid a day longer at Shelburn than he intended; but, alas, he could not accomplish his wishes! for on account of the situation of his master there were legal difficulties in the way.

Having given instructions to Major Skinner and Colonel Bluck to see that the certificates of character which the Sierra Leone Company required were not only from proper persons, but satisfactory in themselves, before he accepted them, he left Shelburn and returned to Halifax. Here he found that the expedition still continued unpopular. A person, under the signature of Philanthropos, now attacked the Company's proposals in the public newspapers, on the ground of climate and the ambiguity of the *terms*. As Lieutenant Clarkson had already explained himself on this subject, he thought it would be a waste of time to be drawn into controversial writing, and therefore made no reply, but stuck to the great object of his mission. In consequence of applying to the Governor, 1200 tons of shipping were ordered to be taken up. It was agreed also that the adventurers should be medically inspected, that no contagious disorders might be brought on board; and Mr. Wallace, one of the members for the province, and a merchant of Halifax, was appointed on the part of Government to provide the provisions and superintend the general equipment of the fleet; an office which

he performed in an admirable manner, and to the satisfaction of all who were concerned. It was determined also, that the vessels should not be sent to sea from different places, or separately, as fast as each could be made ready, but that they should sail from the port of Halifax and in one fleet. In consequence of these arrangements, it was thought proper to get the adventurers together as speedily as possible. Accordingly, on the 13th of November, those in Halifax and Preston had notice to prepare by a given day. Peters was also written to about those at Annapolis and Digby at the same time; and on the 17th Lieutenant Wickham, of the navy, was dispatched to Shelburn to fetch those of the Shelburn and Birch Town people who could produce testimonials of their character. Among the instructions which Lieutenant Clarkson drew up for the latter, there are two which will meet with the approbation of the benevolent reader. He ordered him to make inquiry for John Coltness, the poor slave before mentioned, and to do every thing possible for his release. He ordered him also, as several of the free blacks had manifested an uncommon attachment to their dogs, the only living things they had found faithful to them in life, to try to accommodate them as far as he could in case they wished to take any of these animals with them as the companions of their future fortunes. One dog might be allowed to every six families on board ship: and should there be three or four individuals, such as preachers, leaders, or persons of high character, these might be allowed each to carry one if they requested it.

As measures had been taken for assembling the free blacks at Halifax, there to embark them for Africa, it was necessary to provide, and this as speedily as possible, whatever might be wanted for the completion of that object. Accordingly 800 other tons of shipping were immediately taken up. This being done, Lieutenant Clarkson waited upon the Admiral, Sir Richard Hughes, and obtained his permission and authority to wear a pendant during the voyage, as the captains of the fleet would thus more readily obey him. He then employed himself daily in superintending the outfit of the vessels which had been chosen, and in making accommodations for the passengers. Scuttles were cut in the sides to give vent to the foul air, and wind-sails made to expel it. The steerage was taken away and joined to the whole range of the deck. He gave orders for whitewashing and keeping constant fires between decks. He procured, by an order from the Council, guns, ammunition, and rockets for signals. Such barracks as were empty were lent him by the Government, and he hired storehouses, the most commodious he

could find, in each of which he put up two stoves for the reception of the new comers.

While occupied in this manner Thomas Peters came in by sea, bringing with him from Annapolis and Digby 94 persons (men, women and children) besides his own family. This happened on the 29th of November. It appeared on examining these, that the white inhabitants of those places were doing every thing they could to prevent the departure of those who intended to follow them. Some had refused to pay them their debts; adding that, if they were to stay beyond the day appointed for the embarkation, they should be able to give them their money; but if not, they must lose it. Others had set up false debts against them, for the purpose of detaining them legally for a time. Others, again, had forged agreements, by which they (the free blacks) had bound themselves to work upon their lands for a given time, and they had threatened them with prosecutions if they attempted to leave the country before they had fulfilled their engagements. Notwithstanding these various devices, it was supposed that not less than 200 of them would be able to get away honourably in a few days.

On the 9th of December eleven schooners hove in sight, and landed on the same day in Halifax the free blacks from Shelburn and Birch Town to the number of 540 persons.

On the evening of the same day, but very late, four solitary individuals found their way into the place by land. These were to have come with Thomas Peters's company, but they had been prevented in consequence of having lost their passes. Determined however to share the fate of their comrades, they formed the desperate resolution of travelling to Halifax on foot, a distance of at least 340 miles, in the cold of the winter, and through a country a great part of which had never been trodden by man. They went round by the Bay of Fundy; and after passing through immense forests and over large rivers, they reached the destined place. They had been fifteen days on their route. A fifth person had set out with them, but he had fallen lame, and they were obliged to leave him about forty miles off; but they expected that he would join them the next day.

On the 12th of December another party arrived from Shelburn and Birch Town. These, added to the former, made the total number from those places, including men, women and children, to amount to 600 souls.

The Preston and Halifax free blacks having some time before been received into quarters to the number of 220, there were now in barracks and storehouses more than 900 persons. A daily

muster, therefore, was now established. Those who were sickly and ailing were discovered and taken care of. Those who were found half naked or ragged were clothed : and as most of them were put to difficulties of some kind or other in their then temporary situation, Thomas Peters and others were appointed to receive and report their complaints.

On the 17th of December a schooner arrived from St. John's. Eighty people were landed out of her from Annapolis and Digby, who had honourably surmounted the difficulties which the white inhabitants there had thrown in their way ; and on the 28th no less than 180 others arrived by water from the same places.

As all the free blacks were now in Halifax who were expected, it was proper that there should be no unnecessary delay in sending them to the place of their destination. Accordingly Lieutenant Clarkson immediately hoisted his pendant on board the brig *Lucretia*. The next day the embarkation took place, which was effected without loss, injury, or accident. The number of receiving vessels was fifteen, of their aggregate tons nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the passengers nearly twelve hundred. He then divided all the black people on board into companies, and to each company he appointed a captain of their own complexion to superintend their behaviour on the voyage. To every captain he gave a written paper containing rules and regulations for the whole. He recommended therein, among other things, that they should observe a modest and respectful behaviour towards the officers of the ship ; that they should not make free with the seamen ; for, if they did, the seamen would make free with them in turn, and disturbances might follow ; that they should bear and forbear with one another, seeing that any little inconveniences and hardships on the passage would be but of short duration ; that they should be particularly attentive to the sick ; that they should be cleanly both in their clothes and persons, a circumstance which would be of importance to their health ; and that they should hold divine service on board as often as and in the best manner they could. These rules and regulations were to be read publicly every Sunday after such service, and oftener if necessary.

Having thus put them on board, and arranged matters for their comfort there, one other measure was yet necessary. It was his duty to see that they had the proper certificates for their lands, *according to the printed Proposals of the Sierra Leone Company, which he had explained to them* before they left the place. His next engagement, therefore, was in this work, which took up no ordinary portion of his time. At length he made

them out; and having rendered them complete by his own signature and that of Mr. Hartshorn, he delivered them to each family in turn.

The last thing to be done, as it related to the expedition, was to give instructions to those who were to have the charge of conveying them on their voyage. Accordingly he assembled the fifteen captains on shore. He talked with them generally as to the course he intended to steer, and on subjects connected with the voyage. He explained to them the instructions he had given them for the preservation of the health and comfort of their passengers, and delivered to each captain sealed orders for his future guidance in case of separation. He also sent by each captain a letter to the commanding officer at Sierra Leone, inclosing every information for his guidance in discharging the ships, that no expense might be incurred for demurrage, &c.

On the 14th of January he took leave of his friends in Halifax, all of whom had showed him the most polite attention during his residence there, and particularly of Mr. Hartshorn, to whose advice and assistance throughout the whole of the expedition he was continually indebted. Indeed the assistance which the latter gave him, as well as his kindness and hospitality, and his disinterested zeal in the promotion of the cause of the free blacks, made an impression on Lieutenant Clarkson which will never be erased from his mind. After this he went on board the *Lucretia*, but he was then very far from well. His constant employment in the superintendence of the numerous departments which belonged to the expedition, was sufficient of itself to harass him; but the anxiety of mind attendant upon it, arising from a sense of duty and the interest he took in such employment, tended still more to do it. He had caught a severe cold in mustering the people, which had been accompanied for some time by a fever. Thomas Peters also had manifested some ingratitude, as well as a want of sense as to the propriety of a due subordination. Under a pressure of these and many other matters he had passed many restless nights, and the days which succeeded allowed of no respite or repose for recovery. He went therefore on board indisposed in body and agitated in mind. But even here he had not that opportunity of quiet or of recruiting his health which might have been expected, seeing that a voyage to him was nothing more than a natural excursion upon the element on which he had been bred; for the President and Council (the Governor being then dead) having had no instructions from the Government at home to provide him with a surgeon, did not think themselves authorised on his appli-

cation to appoint any one to that office. He felt it therefore his duty, having only Mr. Taylor, before mentioned, to act in that capacity for fifteen vessels, many of which would naturally be scattered in the voyage, to make his own vessel *the hospital ship of the fleet*. Here all the indisposed or sickly had been ordered to take up their quarters. Under these trying circumstances he embarked. Suffice it to say, that on the 15th of January the fleet got under weigh, and that on the next day, having cleared Samboro Light-house, he and his company were at the mercy of the wide ocean.

It was our intention to have closed the Halifax part of the history here ; but it is absolutely necessary, before we do it, to comment upon an opinion which has been of late started upon a subject essentially connected with it. Some persons, on contemplating the subsequent history of Sierra Leone, have attributed its failure in some instances to what they have conceived to have been the original bad character of the free blacks who were shipped upon this occasion. A question then arises, whether their conceptions have been well grounded. If they are, then the free blacks will come in for their proper share of blame as far as this partial failure is concerned : if they are not, then we must look for it to other causes.

We shall begin our comments by saying, that where men have lived in a state of slavery like the poor people in question, it cannot be denied that they must have undergone some moral degradation, according to the old distich of Homer :

“ For half his worth Jove doubtless takes away,
Whom once he dooms to see the servile day.”

On the other hand, it must be confessed that there were circumstances in their lives, since they changed their servile condition, each of which had a tendency to improve them as social beings : and we feel confident that, viewing them as a body, they will not be found inferior to others who might have been collected for the purposes of colonization (taking whole villages together and number for number) from the poorer classes of society, even in states which have borne the name of civilized.

That Lieutenant Clarkson took great pains to ascertain their character before he allowed them to embark, cannot be doubted. It appears by his Journal, that he declared both at the Governor's table, and at the public room in Halifax, and in those places in the country which he visited, that he would take with him those only who could produce him satisfactory testimonials of their former regular conduct. When he sent Lieutenant Wickham, &c

has been before stated, to fetch the Shelburn and Birch Town people, he instructed him, among other things, to tell all those who had given in their names, "that if he should find on their arrival at Halifax that their character did not answer the description which had been sent to him, neither he nor Mr. Hartshorn would give them the certificates for their land." It may be stated also, that when Colonel Bluck sent his list of testimonials, signed by himself for the Birch Town people, to Lieutenant Clarkson, the latter objected to taking some of them, because they had been characterised only as either "sober and industrious," or as "industrious and honest," or as "honest and sober;" whereas the rest had had the three characters of "honest, sober, and industrious," as required; and this produced afterwards a correspondence on the subject between them. As to the tale that those shipped off were only the refuse of the free blacks, a tale which some of the white inhabitants were likely enough to propagate, when they found they could not detain them to do their work at half price, and to be subject to other of their impositions, it was the tale only of disappointment. So far were they from being idle and dissolute persons, who had escaped from the respectable part of their community, and had stolen in as it were to take advantage of the Company's terms, that they consisted of *almost the entire black population of six towns or villages*. Few of their complexion were left behind, but such as were doing so well, that they were recommended not to hazard a change, or such as could get no respectable person to certify to their character.

But let us see who the people actually were who have been thus spoken of, and let us view them first according to the districts from which they were taken.

The first in order will be those living at Halifax. It need only be said of these, that they were generally known to Mr. Hartshorn.

The next are the Preston people. We might say of these nearly what we have just said of the former; namely, that living but four miles from Halifax, they were mostly known to Mr. Hartshorn; but it would be unjust to pass them over without adding a few words in their favour. In the first place, they had a most excellent character from Mr. Putnam, a most respectable gentleman, of Halifax, who knew them well. Secondly, Lieutenant Clarkson scarcely ever notices them in his Journal but with approbation. When he first saw them, which was on the 20th of October, he remarked, as a symptom of steady and upright

character, "how fearful they were of getting into debt, and how closely they questioned him relative to the assistance to be given them to enable them to support their families at Sierra Leone without borrowing money." On conversing with them afterwards at Halifax, he expressed himself "not only pleased, but astonished at the good sense of many of them;" and on the 28th of November, when they had come into barracks, and he was better acquainted with them, he mentions them, when putting down the occurrences of the day, in the following manner: "I can say," says he, "that the majority of these men are better than any people in the labouring line of life in England. I would match them for strong sense, quick apprehension, gratitude, affection for their wives and children, and friendship and good will towards their neighbours."

The free blacks of Shelburn and Birch Town present themselves next to our notice; of whom however we are obliged, for want of more particular records, to speak collectively or as one body. It appears that all of them had received certificates of their character from those who had resided near or among them; that is, from Major Skinner, Colonel* Bluck, and others; and it is no small honour to them to add that, when some of their poorer brethren were arrested for debt to prevent their going, the rest of the community joined their purses together and set them free. Lieutenant Clarkson was so impressed with this as a generous trait in their character, that he thanked them publicly for it at their first muster.

We come lastly to the free blacks of Annapolis and Digby. We may say of these briefly, that every family had received the full certificates of character from these places, to which we shall add only the following circumstance in their favour. Mr. Clark, as we have had occasion to mention before, had been sent as the Government agent to visit, collect, and send off those there who were willing to emigrate. Mr. Clark was the son of Philanthropos, who had appeared in the public papers as an enemy to the expedition, and his son was in some degree also biassed against it.

* It is said that some of the people in question had not the full character required. Colonel Bluck explained himself afterwards in a letter with respect to these. He said, that the number going was so great, that it was difficult to speak of his own personal knowledge of every one in all the points required by Lieutenant Clarkson; but he trusted from what he knew of the general decent conduct of those against whom the latter had demurred, that they would merit the terms which had been applied to the rest, except in the case of two persons, whose sobriety he seemed to question.

Yet when he delivered into the Government Office the names of those who had embarked from thence for Halifax in their way to Sierra Leone, with their respective occupations and callings, and with an inventory of their furniture, utensils, tools, implements, and other effects, he added of his own accord, after he had signed his name to the foregoing statement, "These are an industrious, sober people, and the inhabitants parted with them with regret."

Having now seen what they were as to character in the districts from whence they were taken, it remains only that we should take a view of them in their more aggregate situation, or when they lived together in a body of more than a thousand in the barracks and storehouses in Halifax. Lieutenant Clarkson, after one of his visits to them in this collective capacity, notices them in his Journal in this manner: "The free blacks whom I shall take with me, are a sober, hard-working, and grateful people, but they are rather enthusiasts in religion.—With respect to their industry, many have declared to me their surprise at their being able to support themselves upon such barren and stony land as they have done, and which never could have been brought into the state in which it is but by unwearied industry.—I can positively say that, if the settlement should not succeed, it will not be for want of proper people to colonize it."

At a future period when he visited them, "he found them, as appears by his Journal, at public prayer." On the 20th of December, "when he spent the evening at Mr. Dight's, the company joined in remarking the decent behaviour of all the people." On December the 25th, "he ordered them fresh beef as a reward for their good behaviour." On December 29, he observes, "that they had hitherto conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the people of the town." In addition to this we shall only observe, that during the whole time of their stay in Halifax, there was *no instance of robbery, theft, or riot on their part, or even of disturbance or drunkenness*, and that the President and Council *thanked Lieutenant Clarkson for their exemplary conduct* when he took his leave of them.

[To be continued.]

The Lives of Reformers. By WILLIAM GILPIN, M.A. Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Bolder, in New Forest. A new Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1809. Cadell and Davies.

THE scenes which are brought under review in the work, the title of which we have thus transcribed, are among the most memorable which are presented to us in the annals of human kind; and the lessons which they are calculated to afford are by no means exhausted. It is one of the most instructive considerations to which, even at the present moment, we can easily perhaps be called, to examine in what degree our conduct resembles that of the bigots of former days; how far it is guided by the same principles; and what portion it produces of similar effects.

We are very apt to give ourselves credit for having made much greater progress in the line of rationality than we really have. The consequence is very deplorable. The individuals, or the people, who are thus puffed up with a false conceit, remit those endeavours which are necessary to attain the point of perfection which they unhappily imagine they already have gained.

It is incredible, when a zeal for opinion in matters of religion is excited in a wrong direction, how much mischief it is capable of producing. And so long as, from the ignorance of human creatures, and the uncultivated state of the human mind, it continues liable to be excited in a wrong direction, so long the history of that mischief will be one of the most instructive objects of contemplation to mankind. The tendency of that history is to guard mankind against those evils to which that perversion might still expose them. And it is a weakness with which certain minds are very liable to be affected, that, because an evil is mitigated, it is therefore extinct; that because part of a burden is taken off, the part which remains is deprived of its power of gravitation and pressure.

The knowledge of the past is good only for the improvement of the future. To renew the recollection of the mischiefs of former bigotry; of the sinister interests of men of former days, confederated in the name of religion against the improvement of the future, is only useful as far as such evils are now to be averted, as such sinister interests now exist, as such confederations are now to be counteracted.

Many of the evils with which men are familiar, they are too

and religious liberty are extended to countries other than their own.

"The spirit of sectarianism is narrow and sullen." Let us examine this trite imputation. Of all marks of a narrow, and sullen, and cruel, and benighted spirit, *intolerance* is the most striking and the worst. Is the Churchman in the *Quarterly Review* willing to put the trial upon this issue? Will he abide the consequence of an examination, in which order of Christians, the conforming or the non-conforming, the intolerant spirit, the persecuting spirit, the worst of all spirits, most fully resides, and always has resided? He produces instances to show, that, in the early age of protestantism, the dissenters as well as the church disavowed toleration. We know it; every body knows it. But the difference is, that the progress of knowledge has improved the dissenters, and they are intolerant no longer. The improvement of the age has exerted itself with much less success upon the church, which is maintaining intolerant principles every day, and, as far as it dares, performing intolerant actions. Effects can only be explained by a reference to their cause; and here the cause is immediately discovered. Toleration is contrary to the interests of the governing members of the establishment, the priesthood. It is conformable to the interests of the dissenting body in all its parts. As intolerance is contrary to the progress of the human mind, and the discovery of truth, these important interests will always be more or less opposed by church establishments; and the extent and influence of dissent or non-conformity is the best counteraction to that baneful tendency. It was the wretched principle of conformity, through the influence of the clergy at last rendered compulsive, which made the Christian church in its early ages degenerate into all the corruptions of popery. And every where would the same causes infallibly produce the same effects. Put into the hands of the Church of England, or of any other church, a similar power, and similar consequences will follow. It is the existence of dissenters which alone can preserve religion from its worst corruptions, and human nature from its greatest evils, civil and mental slavery. And the narrowest and meanest of all spirits is displayed by the jealous churchman, who wishes to extinguish all religion but his own; who cannot bear the existence of a man that differs from him; who desires that no man should think for himself, but only as men long since dead have chosen to think for him; who would interdict the use of thought; who invents all sorts of false and weak pretences to induce men willingly to resign the use of thought, and to join with him in exploding it. What is to be thought, for example, of an

Establishment critic, who, like our friend in the Quarterly Review, seriously and gravely holds out such talk as the following, for the purpose of confirming his countrymen in the habit of rejecting the use of their own reason; confirming them in the habit of not thinking for themselves, but of following passively the thoughts of others which are proposed to them? "The village spire is that point amid the landscape to which their eye reverts oftentimes, and upon which it reposes longest, and with most delight. They love the music of the sabbath bells, and walk in cheerfulness along the church-path which their fathers trode before them." Precious advantages these! to be compared with the virtuous and manly exercise of the highest attribute of human nature. Noble inducements to prevail upon a rational being to renounce that exercise! A glorious compensation for the prevention of all those improvements to which the exercise of reason is subservient! Light must be the scale into which make-weights of such a sort as these are necessary to be thrown!

These observations upon certain doctrines very zealously, and by far too successfully taught, in the present day, were forcibly suggested by the perusal of the work which we have taken as the subject of the present reflections. There is nothing new, said Solomon, under the sun; and undoubtedly the vices which are at work in one age, will in general be found to be pretty exactly paralleled by those which acted in some preceding age. It is wonderful that in ecclesiastical affairs the progress of reason and of experience, between the times of Wicliff and our own, should not have made a more remarkable difference.

The volumes of Gilpin begin with the Life of Wicliff; a biographical article full of instruction. It is well known that Wicliff is one of the earliest of the schismatics, or sectarians, or dissenters from the established church, at that time the same in England as in all the other countries of Europe. "The first person of any eminence who espoused," says Mr. Gilpin, "*the cause of religious liberty* was John Wicliff." He belonged to the university of Oxford, and was renowned for the progress which he had made in the learning of the place. Of that learning his biographer gives a slight review; and it is instructive to remark how little the learning of Oxford at the present day differs from its learning in the time of Wicliff. The progress of knowledge has imparted as little to that opulent establishment as it has received from it; and the obligation appears to be nearly equal on both sides. They have moved in different spheres, and stood as independent of one another as possible. The logic and ethics of Aristotle, with the languages of Greece and Rome, constituted

almost the only objects of study in those days ; and they constitute almost the only objects of study at present. The additions which have been made to this range of study are so trifling as not to deserve any particular mention ; and are much more than compensated by the great decay of studious ardour. Of the passionate application which was then bestowed upon the studies in vogue, dexterity in logical dispute, and the subtleties of verbal distinction, we can hardly now form a conception ; so much did it surpass all that we either experience in ourselves, or observe in others. Of this important fact, never, on any apt occasion, should the mention be omitted ; or of the urgent necessity for an improved system of instruction. The existing state of knowledge demands a correspondent state of education,—either in the universities ; or, if they will not improve, in other places independent of the universities.

The orders of mendicant monks, the Dominicans and Franciscans, which had been instituted in the preceding century, and had gradually risen to a great influence over the minds of the people, as well as over the politics of the papal court, had excited in a very violent manner the jealousy of the secular or ordinary clergy ; vehement controversies had been excited between them ; and in every place where they came in contact with one another, fierce hostilities were commonly waged. Such was the case at Oxford ; where the most violent contentions between the seculars of the university, and the friars established in the place, had generally been carried on. “And an opposition to the friars,” says Mr. Gilpin, “was looked upon as the test of a young fellow’s affection to the university.”

Wicliff entered warmly into the passions of the place, and distinguished himself by an attack upon the favourite doctrine of the friars, that poverty and mendicancy were of gospel appointment ; a work in which he severely arraigned the morals of the monks. For these merits he was rapidly promoted in the university ; but Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been originally a monk, and next an abbot, took part with his opponents, and ejected him from a high office to which he had been elected. He appealed to Rome, and the pope decided against him. The demerits of the monks, and of the pope, their patron, were thus associated in the imagination of Wicliff ; and in aiming his shafts at the one, he was not sorry when they glanced upon the other. He was warmly patronized by his university, as a sufferer in their cause ; presented with a benefice ; and raised to the chair of professor in divinity.

In his lectures he continued his attacks upon the friars, and in

exposing them was gradually led to greater and greater encroachments upon ground taken up and consecrated by the church. He harangued against the "false miracles" and "lying traditions" with which they amused the vulgar. "His success in this," says Gilpin, "warranted a further progress; but he proceeded with caution, *accustoming* the people to hear novelties, and to bear contradiction." This is worthy of attention. "*Novelties, and contradiction of received opinions,*" on ecclesiastical ground, are what our churchmen, of the present day, never cease to execrate. Wicliff, even in the darkness of the age in which he lived, was not deterred by the outcries of those who were interested in propagating the doctrine of stillness and rest in religious affairs; by his biographer he is praised for his daring introduction of novelties; and he will receive the benedictions of every succeeding age. The introduction of novelties, therefore, is not a wicked thing: it is a good thing; because error can never be expelled without it. Till the professors, then, of any system can *prove* it to be perfect, (for we shall be weak indeed if we take their word upon such a point,) nothing in the world can exceed their impudence, when they impute it to any man as a crime to dissent from them, and their system. It is not by assenting, but by dissenting, that all the error which has ever been in the world, has been got rid of. It is not by assenting, but by dissenting; that the world can be delivered from all which now remains. The audacity with which Wicliff, rejecting the opinions which had been consecrated by ages, and overlooking the great benefit of "turning the eye to the village spire, the ear to the music of the church bells, and the foot to the church path which his fathers trode before him," proceeded to think for himself, is called by Mr. Gilpin, a clergyman of the established church,—but a man out of whose bosom his professional interests had not eradicated all liberal sentiments,—a "*noble freedom of thought, conspicuous in all his writings.*"

"The oppressions of the church," says Mr. Gilpin, "were at this time severely felt in England. Many things were complained of; but nothing more than the state of church preferments. Almost every thing valuable was, through one fiction or another," says Mr. Gilpin, "bestowed upon the friends and favourites of the pope, who left their benefices in the hands of ill-paid and negligent curates. By these means religion decayed; and, what was looked upon as most vexatious, a body of insolent tythe-gatherers were set over the people, who had their own fortunes to make out of the surplus of their exactions."

1. Abuse of church patronage, bestowed upon the creatures of

favour and power, not upon men of learning and virtue: 2. Non-residence of the clergy: 3. The oppression of tythes: these are the heads of oppression, of which, under the church of Rome, the people of England complained in the days of Wicliff. A minute comparison of the state of things, under the church of England, in the present day, with the state of things in those former days; a fair exhibition how far the present state of things agrees with, and how far it differs from, the ancient state; how far, under these heads, the ground for similar complaints in the present day remains, and how far it is taken away, would be in the highest degree instructive. It is an inquiry however, in which, though we shall not lose sight of it, we must not for the present engage.

Wicliff became of so much consequence, and his talents were so highly prized, that he was sent, in conjoint embassy with the bishop of Bangor, to treat with the pope on the regulation of the patronage, called at that time "the liberties of the church of England."

On his return, he proceeded with still more boldness in exposing the abuses of the church. "There has scarce been a corrupt principle or practice in the Roman church, detected by latter ages, which his penetration had not at that early day discovered."

The standing proof of insincerity, manifested by the inconsistency between the principles of the gospel, and the practical maxims of churchmen, escaped not the animadversion of this intrepid reformer. "The pomp and luxury of bishops," says Mr. Gilpin, "he would frequently lash; and would ask the people, when they saw their prelates riding abroad, accompanied with horsemen in silver trappings, whether they perceived any resemblance between such splendour, and the simplicity of primitive bishops?" One thing not a little singular is, that Mr. Gilpin, a member of a church with prelates still having the revenues and splendour of princes, should appear to applaud these irresistible attacks. Neither Wicliff nor Gilpin, it seems, united with Mr. Burke in that doctrine of his, invented for anti-jacobin purposes, that "Religion should lift up her mitred front in courts and palaces," recommended by "the silver trappings" of her ministers. The silver trappings to religion are like the poisoned garment to Hercules; they shoot a corruptive venom through her frame. "The stench of the arrogance and presumption of the great," to which, according to Burke, the flavour of religion is to be accommodated, is not very likely to be diminished, but only increased, by so acting as to raise a similar stench among

the ministers of religion who approach them*. If, according to another elegant image of the same eloquent orator, on the same occasion, the rich and the great have "mental blotches and running sores" peculiar to themselves; you take a strange road to their cure by infecting with the same diseases, the men whom you intend for their doctors. As if a mad physician was the man fittest to be placed at the head of a lunatic hospital!

Burke had images and words adapted to all occasions; and words and images are all-powerful over the ordinary class of minds. There is no want of evidence to prove, that by words and images, pretty independent of ideas, he had learned the art of turning and winding his own mind. For a long time there has been a lamentable fashion of leaning on all occasions upon his authority. But here we have the authority of Wicliff and Gilpin, on the side of reason, against him.

Wicliff was protected by the Duke of Lancaster, the celebrated John of Gaunt, on whom, during the old age of his father Edward the Third, the weight of government rested. "This prince," says Mr. Gilpin, "had free notions in religion: and whether his creed gave offence to the clergy, or whether he had made some efforts to curb the exorbitance of their power, it is certain they were vehemently incensed against him; and some of the leading churchmen, it is said, had used base arts to blacken his character. Notwithstanding, however, the protection of the duke, from whom Wicliff had received the valuable rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, a persecution was raised against him; with "Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and Courtney, bishop of London, at its head. The former was a man of uncommon moderation, for the times in which he lived; the latter was an inflamed bigot." The persecution lingered till the death of Edward, when the weakness of Richard the Second, a minor, and the diminished power of the Duke of Lancaster, "was a signal," says Mr. Gilpin, "to the bishops, to animate their persecution against Wicliff."

Wicliff is said not to have behaved with much courage, when interrogated before the bishops; to have endeavoured with much effort to torture his words into an orthodox meaning; and with servile compliments to soothe the resentments of the prelates. It is only from popish historians, however, that we receive these accounts, and they would not fail to make the story

* "They are not repelled through a fastidious delicacy, at the stench of their arrogance and presumption, from a medicinal attention to their mutual blotches and running sores." *Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution*,

appear favourable to their own cause, and the contrary to that of their opponents. But whether the accusation be true or false, the only difference it makes is that of a little more, or a little less, in the personal courage of Wicliff; which is a matter of not much importance.

The next work in which he engaged was truly great, and memorable in its consequences. It was a translation of the Scriptures into the common language. Before it appeared, "he published," says Gilpin, "a tract, in which, with great strength of argument, he showed the necessity of engaging in it. The Bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's word. Christ's law, he said, was sufficient to guide his church; and every Christian might there gather knowledge enough to make him acceptable to God. And as to comments, he said, a good life was the best guide to the knowledge of Scripture. Or, in his own language, *He that keepeth righteousness hath the true understanding of Holy Writ.*"

The stress which Wicliff here, and throughout his works, lays upon good morale, in comparison of orthodox opinions, is truly remarkable. It is a mark, a sign, a criterion, by which the good man may almost always be distinguished from the good churchman. *Opinions* engross the zeal of the good churchman; *morals* that of the good man. The exertions of the one are expended in making other men's opinions conformable to his own; and morals he nearly leaves to take care of themselves. The pursuit of the other is to make his fellow-creatures to the utmost possible extent lead virtuous, and therefore happy lives; and all opinions which are not the ground-work of actions, he places in a station of inferior importance.

Another opinion of Wicliff is, the sufficiency of the Scriptures, without gloss or comment, for all really religious purposes. How much at variance with this opinion is that of the churchmen, who oppose the establishment of schools on the principle of universal admission, because the Bible is read in them without the catechism of the Church, need not be explained.

If the propriety of translating the Scriptures be established and acknowledged, other consequences follow which are not in general observed. The translation of the Scriptures is only good, if schism and dissent are good, and not otherwise. If schism and dissent are evil, so also is the translation of the Scriptures. If the opinions of the Church are alone to be followed, and if the adoption of any other opinions is evil, the proper course undoubtedly is to confine the Bible to those who manufacture the opinions of the Church, and to give to the people only the opinions which

are made for them. The Church of Rome reasoned accurately and consistently, by refusing the use of the Bible to the laity, when it established their incompetency to form opinions for themselves. The Church of England manifests a woeful incapacity of reasoning, when it maintains that the Bible should be translated and read, and yet that there is any duty or propriety whatsoever in following the opinions of the parish priest more than the opinions of any other man. Surely the reading of the Bible is good, only if it is good to judge of it according to the dictates of the reader's understanding. It can answer no other purpose. If this is not good, it is merciful to keep the Bible out of his hands; it is merciful to keep him from the chance and from the temptation of error. Whoever talks of schism and dissent as any thing else than desirable and good, is in reality, therefore, not a protestant; he avows the very principle of popish tyranny, and the source of popish corruption; he lays down the servitude of the human mind as the foundation of his system; he actually and in truth condemns the translation and perusal of the Bible. So very nearly are popish high church and protestant high church related!

"His translation of the Scriptures," says Mr. Gilpin, "it may easily be imagined, had no tendency to reinstate Wicliff in the good opinion of the clergy. An universal clamour was immediately raised. Knighton, a canon of Leicester, and nearly a contemporary with Wicliff, hath left us upon record the language of the times. 'Christ intrusted his Gospel (says that ecclesiastic) to the clergy and doctors of the Church, to minister it to the laity and weaker sort according to their exigencies and several occasions. But this master John Wicliff, by translating it, has made it vulgar; and has laid it more open to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of the best understanding. And thus the Gospel jewel, the evangelical pearl, is thrown about and trodden under foot of swine.'"—It is not surprising, when the object is the same, the shackling of mankind, that the same language should be used to vilify them. The occasion is fresh in the recollection of the British people, when, to render odious all attempts to improve the institutions of society, they were represented as ready to be torn down and "trampled under the hoofs of a swinish multitude."

"The bishops, in the mean time, and mitred abbots," according to our author, "not content with railing, took more effectual pains to stop this growing evil. After much consultation, they brought a Bill into Parliament to suppress Wicliff's Bible,

The advocates for it set forth, in their usual manner, the alarming prospect of heresy [*dissent*], which this version of the Scriptures opened, and the ruin of all religion, which must inevitably ensue."—Their reasoning was good and conclusive. Admit their principle, as the Church of England does, that conformity is good, and non-conformity evil, and it is absurd to deny their inference. It is only on the admission that non-conformity is not an evil, but a good, that the translation of the Scriptures can be vindicated.

Wicliff proceeded to attack the doctrine of transubstantiation. "Dr. Barton," says Mr. Gilpin, "was at that time vice-chancellor of Oxford. He was a person of great zeal against innovations in religion, which he considered as the symptoms of its ruin. He called together the heads of the university, and, finding he could influence a majority, obtained a decree by which Wicliff's doctrine was condemned." What is remarkable in all this course is, the coincidence between the prejudices and pretences, on which in those days, and those on which in the present day, improvement is opposed. Dr. Barton, the vice-chancellor of the university, was a person of *great zeal against innovations*.

An incident occurred which was admirably adapted to the views of the clergy, and of which they failed not to make a dexterous use. An insurrection happened in the counties of Kent and Sussex; that to which the name of Tyler has remained attached. Such an event as this, by alarming the persons in possession of power, was calculated to make them credulous and cruel; capable of being easily infected with suspicion, and easily induced to lull their fears by the ruin of those whom they suspected. "Great pains," says our author, "were taken by the enemies of Wicliff, to fix the odium of this insurrection upon him;" and although the accusation appears to have been totally without foundation, it was far from being totally without effect. The most zealous of the clergy, Courtney, bishop of London, was now raised to the see of Canterbury, and proceeded with all the weight of his authority against him.

"The King," says our author, "immersed in pleasures, thought only of tenths and subsidies, and could refuse nothing to the clergy, *who were so ready on all occasions to comply with him.*"

Wicliff was obliged to withdraw from Oxford, and lived in retirement at his church in Lutterworth; where he soon after received a shock of the palsy and died. The prosecution against him never attained the vigour which it would have otherwise assumed, by the alarming schism of the two popes, which

weakened the hands and relaxed the efforts of the clergy in every country in Europe.

Among his other opinions, "he had a great dislike to chaunting in divine worship. It was originally introduced, he says, to impose on the understanding, by substituting sound in the room of sense." One observation of his on this subject is admirable. "It is grievous," says he, "to see what sums are yearly expended upon these singing priests, and how little upon the education of children." Mark how much of that grievance still remains; how much money is spent upon priests who now sing to naked walls, how little still upon the education of children.

"He was a great enemy," says his biographer, "to the superfluous wealth of the clergy. He allowed the labourer to live by his labour. But he asserted that he had a right to his hire from nothing else. Tythes, he said, were only a sort of alms, no where of gospel institution, which the people might either give or withdraw as they found their pastor deserved." It was his opinion, in short, that no pay was proper for a clergyman, but the voluntary contributions of his hearers. "If thou be a priest," says he, "contend with others, not in pomp, but in piety. Ill befits it a man, who lives on the labours of the poor, to squander away the dear-bought fruits of their industry upon his own extravagances. Church endowments, he thought, were the root of all the corruption among the clergy. He often lamented the luxury they occasioned; and used to wish the Church was again reduced to its primitive poverty and innocence."

The following opinion of his, considering the age in which he lived, is worthy of particular notice. "He seems to have thought it wrong, upon the principles of the gospel, to take away the life of man upon any occasion. The whole trade of war he thought utterly unlawful. *Nor does he seem to think the execution of a criminal a more allowed practice.*"

But of all his opinions, none is more remarkable than the following. "Heresy, according to him, consisted in a *bad life*, as well as in false opinions. No good man, he thought, could be an heretic."

To this excellent mode of thinking, Mr. Gilpin has the liberality fully to subscribe; and adduces a passage, in which it is not only adopted, but justified by Jeremy Taylor. "No error, nor its consequent," says that writer, whose liberality so far surpassed that of his age, "is to be charged as criminal, upon a pious person, since *no simple error is sin*, nor does condemn us before the throne of God."

After Wicliff, the next of the personages who had understanding enough, through the mists of prejudice and custom, to discover the abuses of their own times, and virtue enough to endeavour to persuade their countrymen to correct them, was Sir John Oldecastle, Lord Cobham.

After some previous efforts in favour of reform, this nobleman, in concert with some other persons of eminence who were friendly to the cause, upon the occasion of an absence of the King, who was gone to quell a rebellion in Ireland in 1395, drew up a number of articles against the imperfections of the Church, and presented them in the form of a remonstrance to the Commons. "As they had many friends," says Gilpin, "in the House, and as their principal opponents were then abroad with the King, they thought it more than probable that something might be done by the Parliament." But the Archbishop of Canterbury hastened over to the King, and entreated his immediate return into England to put a stop to the ruin of the Church.—Mr. Gilpin archly remarks, "By the ruin of the Church, the good prelate meant, *the reformation of the clergy.*"—And has there ever been a time, or will there ever be a time, in which those who stand in need of reform will not act a similar part? in which those who *most* stand in need of reform, are not sure to act it with the greatest vehemence? Is it not the matter of our common experience, that all dissent from the Church, or disapprobation of her imperfections, is arraigned as an attempt to destroy the Church?—To ears which are fit to hear, this sounds but as a proof of the greater need of reform.

It speaks a fear rather of the loss of the profits of abuse, than a fear of the catastrophe which is threatened to deter us from the reform of abuse. If people's terror had really for its object the risk of the evils attendant upon change, they would so regulate their conduct as to leave the smallest possible ground for wishing a change. Where they cry out against change, and yet continue to act in such a manner as to add daily to the good reasons for desiring change, there can be no doubt that their real fears are one thing; their pretended fears another.

Mr. Gilpin begins his account of the life of Lord Cobham with a remark which, from a person in his situation, is curious. "It is a common observation," he says, "that the vulgar are generally the most open to conviction;" and he assumes it as a fact. This is rather a contrary doctrine to that of the persons who call them "the swinish multitude," as a reason for treating them like a multitude of swine. If the multitude are more open to con-

viction, they must be so either from having better understandings than their superiors, or less temptation to shut out the truth. They have not better understandings, but necessarily, from want of education, worse. But it is true that they have fewer temptations to resist the truth. It is to this cause, accordingly, that Mr. Gilpin ascribes the effect. "The great," he says, "are attached to establishments in which their interests are concerned;" and that is the reason why they resist conviction. "The learned are attached to systems, on which their time hath been spent," and less easily open their minds to the reception of new ideas. With regard to the last, however, though an attachment to systems may become stronger than the attachment to truth, yet where there is no interest which gives an artificial attachment in addition to the sincere, learning strengthens the faculty for the perception of truth, and hence disposes for its adoption. This is the case with real learning; but it must be allowed that there is a false learning, when a man clothes himself with opinions and systems, but understands not the ground of any opinion which he holds, any system about which he occupies himself; and only adopts them upon trust, because they have been kneaded into his mind by education, or because conveyed to him from some venerated source, either dead or alive. Such a learning, which, in the present state of education, is necessarily the most common learning, is indeed very apt to shut the mind against the reception of truth, to render it perfectly hostile to truth, and eager to visit with mischief every man who ventures an opinion different from those which it receives. The men of this sort of learning, in conjunction with the class of persons who are "attached to establishments in which their interests are concerned," are the classes which have formed in all ages the leading body of persecutors; whether the persecution is carried on by hostile deeds, or can only be carried on by hostile words; whether directed against religious or secular opinions.

"It was publicly known," says our biographer, "that Lord Cobham had been at great expense in collecting and transcribing the works of Wicliff, which he had dispersed among the common people without any reserve. It was publicly known also, that he maintained a great number of the disciples of Wicliff, as *itinerant preachers*, in many parts of the country. These things drew upon him the resentment of the whole ecclesiastical order."—The publication among the common people of obnoxious writings, and the employment of itinerant preachers, are the expedients to which Cobham had recourse, and which peculiarly drew upon him the resentment of the ecclesiastical order.

It is here necessary to introduce a few of the reflections of Mr. Gilpin, upon the political state of England, at the time when the persecutions against this eminent reformer began to take life. It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the character of Richard the Second, or of the events of his reign. It is sufficient to say, that after a course of weak and profligate government he was dethroned.

"Nine years had now elapsed," says Gilpin, "since Richard had taken the government into his own hands. This entire interval he had consumed in one steady encroachment upon the laws of his country. So many, indeed, and gross, were his indiscretions, that it was commonly said by the people, their king was under some preternatural infatuation. But, as old Speed very well remarks,—a remark too which might equally have fallen when that cautious writer in matters of kingship would least have chosen it, —'When princes are wilful and slothful, and their favourites flatterers, there needs no other enchantment to infatuate, yea to ruin, the greatest monarchs.'" Mr. Gilpin adds, "For a while (says the judicious Rapin, reasoning upon Richard's actions) five or six hundred persons, who compose a parliament, and as many magistrates of towns and counties, may seem to an imprudent prince the body of a nation; but a time will come, when every single person must be taken into the account."

The following is an admirable picture of the "*Union*," as it is called, "of the church and the state." "When Henry the Fourth," says Mr. Gilpin, "came to the crown, it was imagined by all men, that he inclined to the opinions of the reformers. But he found, upon examining the state of parties, that the ecclesiastical interest was the most able to support his pretensions, and without further hesitation attached himself to it. The clergy were high in their demands. Their friendship was not to be purchased but at the price of blood. In short, they must be made easy by a law to burn heretics." Henry, an usurper, undertook to serve the purposes of the clergy, and the clergy undertook to serve the purposes of Henry; and thus the union between the church and the state was formed, and made complete.

Henry the Fourth, however, during his life, protected Cobham, whom he esteemed. But Henry the Fifth, in putting off his debauchery, put on that sort of piety which renders a man or a woman the creature of the priests. "Thomas Arundel," says Mr. Gilpin, "was at this time archbishop of Canterbury, and presided over the Church of England with as much zeal and bigotry as any of his predecessors." A convocation was called; Cobham was attacked; and application made to the King for

leave to subject him to all the rigours of ecclesiastical resentment. The King first endeavoured to persuade him to recant, and afterwards delivered him up to the Clergy:

He was committed to the Tower; underwent a trial in the Ecclesiastical Court, when his boldness and magnanimity overawed his judges, but did not mitigate their resentment: he was condemned; but made his escape from the Tower, and retired into Wales.

The King refused to issue a proclamation against him; and was to be wrought up to some additional measure of severity, by contrivance. The standing calumny of disaffection is always ready, and seldom ineffectual. The persecuted Lollards, or Wicliffites, were obliged to hold their religious assemblies secretly, in retired places, and often in the dead of night. St. Giles's Fields, then a thicket, was on these occasions a place of frequent resort. One night as the King was sitting down to supper at his palace at Eltham, advice was brought him, that Lord Cobham, at the head of 20,000 men, had taken post in St. Giles's Fields. The King, with all the rashness of credulity and alarm, armed his followers; in those days of feudal attendance, a numerous band; and marched immediately to surprise the rebels. The fact really was, that about a hundred of the poor Lollards had met there for devotion. About midnight the King fell upon them, when about 28 of them were killed, and 60 taken prisoners.

The proceedings of the clergy against Lord Cobham, who, notwithstanding the accusation of being at the head of 20,000 rebels in St. Giles's Fields, remained in his concealment in Wales, were retarded by an event which closely touched them. In the House of Commons, the wealth of the clergy had for a considerable time been regarded with hostile feelings; and the clergy, says Gilpin, had availed themselves of the "pretence for clamouring, that all was virulence against the church." The Commons now prepared their measures with secrecy and address, and surprised and astounded the clergy by presenting an almost unanimous petition to the King to seize the revenues of the clergy. Mark the expedient to which the clergy had recourse for averting the impending blow.

"It was matter of joy to all good Catholics, that Henry Chicheley was now archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate had succeeded Arundel; and to the zeal of his predecessor, added a more artful address in the management of affairs. Such address was the principal thing, at that time, required in an archbishop of Canterbury.

"Undaunted at the storm, this able pilot stepped to the helm; and judging it adviseable to give up a part rather than hazard the

whole, he went to the King; and with all humility hoped, "His majesty did not mean so rash a thing, as to put it out of the power of his old friends to serve him as they had ever done: the clergy were his sure refuge upon all occasions; and as a proof of their zeal, they begged his majesty would accept at their hands, a surrender of all the alien priories; which being not fewer than an hundred and ten, would very considerably augment his revenues." Henry paused,—and considering the noble sacrifice they had offered, and reflecting upon the old maxim of prudence, that a security, though of less value, is better than a contingency;—and withal, dreading the consequences of irritating so powerful a body, he accepted their offer; and the clergy had once more the pleasure to see their arts counterbalance the designs of their enemies.

"The archbishop, however, not yet sufficiently secure, proceeded a step farther. He observed, from the times, a general inclination to a French war, and wanted thoroughly to embark his sovereign in such an enterprize; rightly judging, that schemes abroad would divert him from schemes at home; and that a war upon the continent would greatly induce him to leave all quiet in his own dominions.

"Thus resolved, he took an early opportunity to address the king in full parliament. In a studied harangue he proved the claim, which England had upon France, since the time of Edward the Third. The neglect of that claim, he said, since that period, had by no means injured the right. He then launched out into a florid encomium upon the virtues of the King; and said, the thunder of the English nation, which had slept through two reigns, was reserved solely for his arm; and God would prosper the noble undertaking. He concluded with saying, that if his majesty should engage in this gallant enterprize, he would undertake that the clergy should grant him a larger subsidy than had been ever granted to an English king; and he doubted not but the laity would follow their example.

"Many historians have attributed the conquest of France to this speech. It is certain, however, it greatly tended to reconcile the minds of men to this enterprize, and effectually put a stop to the King's designs against the church.—Such were the vile politics of the clergy of those times!"

To hurry the nation into war abroad, for the purpose of drawing off its attention from the necessity of reform at home, is an old and an obvious contrivance. The wonder is, that it should still be so easy to give it effect; and that the arts of those who have an interest in deluding the nation into a cry for war prove almost always successful. A better education of the people will put an end to this, as it will to other innumerable evils.

"In the mean time Lord Cobham, whose spirit in parliament had

given birth to all this ferment, remained an exile in Wales, shifting frequently the scene of his retreat. In the simple manners of that mountainous country he found an asylum, which he judged it imprudent to exchange for one which might probably prove more hazardous beyond sea.

"But the zeal of his enemies was not easily baffled. After many fruitless attempts, they engaged the Lord Powis in their interest, a very powerful person in those parts; and in whose lands the Lord Cobham was supposed to lie concealed.

"This nobleman, working upon his tenants by such motives as the great have ever in reserve, had numbers soon upon the watch. This vigilance the Lord Cobham could not escape. In the midst of his fancied security, he was taken, carried to London in triumph, and put into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury.

"Lord Cobham had now been four years in Wales, but found his sufferings had in no degree diminished the malice of his enemies. On the contrary, it showed itself in stronger colours. Those restraints under which the clergy acted before, were now removed. The superiority which they had obtained, both in the parliament and in the cabinet, laid every murmur asleep; and they would boast, in the prophet's language, that not a dog durst move his tongue against them.

"Things being thus circumstanced, Lord Cobham, without any divination, foresaw his fate. His fate indeed remained not long in suspense. With every instance of barbarous insult, which enraged superstition could invent, he was dragged to execution. St. Giles's Fields was the place appointed; where both as a traitor, and a heretic, he was hung up in chains upon a gallows; and, fire being put under him, was burnt to death.

"Such was the unworthy fate of this nobleman; who, though every way qualified to be the ornament of his country, fell a sacrifice to unfeeling rage, and barbarous superstition."

As men are governed by motives, and motives arise out of interests, interests are the source from which all inferences, from the actions of men of former times, to the actions of those of the present, are safely to be drawn. Where interests are the same in kind and degree, actions the same in kind and degree may certainly be expected. Where interests are the same in kind but less in degree, actions will be the same in kind but less in degree. Where interests of one kind are counteracted by interests of another; where the love of wealth, or of power, or of vengeance, act under the eye, for example, of an intelligent public, and where the public voice has influence upon the governing power, the actions to which these interests would prompt, must be well guarded, and cautiously chosen. With these reflections present

to his mind, the person who reads the ancient history of the English Church cannot fail to draw the proper conclusions.

One practical suggestion, though always obvious, is always so useful, that we cannot forbear to bring it to view. In such cases, whatever disapprobation may be excited; on individuals it can never with propriety fall; whether the individuals of popish, or those of protestant times. As individuals are influenced if ~~not~~ formed by their situations, it is the situations on which our attention ought to be fixed. The individuals who are placed in situations which have a tendency to render them hostile to the best interests of their species, are objects of pity rather than of hatred. Change the situation, and the men also will change. We should look to the situation, which is the cause; rather than to the conduct of the individual, which is only the effect. Whether ecclesiastical corporations be, or be not, a thing which creates interests in opposition to those of mankind at large, is a question which is open for discussion; but in whatever manner that be decided, the actions of individual clergymen, with proportioned exceptions, have been and will be, like those of other men, governed by the situation in which they are placed.

[To be continued.]

An Appeal to the Allies, and the English Nation, in behalf of Poland.

IN placing the title of a political pamphlet at the head of an article in *THE PHILANTHROPIST*, our readers will not suspect us of a design to lead them into the field of political controversy; to entertain them with a dissertation upon the balance of Europe; or a critical essay upon the character and interests of the European princes and states.

But it may not be improper to embrace the opportunity, such as it is—not very prolific in hope—to breathe a sentiment in favour of the happiness of mankind; and amid the loud and importunate voices which interest and prejudice employ to perpetuate scenes of malignity and mischief, to endeavour to insinuate into the minds even of a few, some considerations of justice and philanthropy. It were something, when so many are spending all their ardour in recommending to favour the interests of this prince and that prince, of this dynasty and that dynasty; or in exposing others to infamy and execration; that some persons would say a word in favour of poor human nature; would only

entreat us to consider how *that* is likely to fare, amid the changes which are in contemplation; and endeavour to make us found something of our joy or our sorrow, our hopes or our fears, upon the prospect of happiness or misery, of liberty or slavery, of knowledge or ignorance, to the millions whose fate is now at stake, and of whom the fate seems to excite an interest in the bosoms of a number wonderfully small.

What, at first consideration, would appear calculated to augment our sympathy, the multiplication of the beings in whose happiness or misery we take an interest, appears, with the ordinary part of mankind, to have altogether a contrary effect—to deaden the sensibility, to obscure the conception, and make them feel much less either for their joy or their sorrow; have much less concern about their fate; and much less desire to make any effort or sacrifice either to save them from calamity, or augment their happiness. The greater the number to whom the happiness is extended, the greater the number whom the calamity involves, the greater, in the eye of reason, is the good in the one case and the evil in the other. But such is not the progress of vulgar feeling; which is intense in proportion to the narrowness of the object; cold and languid in proportion to its magnitude and extent. For one individual, strongly urged upon the attention, either by closeness of connection or elevation of place, the gross of mankind can feel; with him they can sympathize; for his pains or pleasures they can make a stir. Upon the pains and pleasures of their fellow-creatures taken in masses they appear to look as matters of indifference. The condition of this or that *body* of human beings, provided only the individual or individuals at the head of them have reason to be content, seems to present itself to few, as any thing better than an object of vain and idle speculation.

It is to counteract this miserable tendency, that is one of the main objects of *THE PHILANTHROPIST*; to enlarge the benevolent feelings of mankind; to make their narrow sympathies gradually expand; to give them habits of attending to masses; and of estimating the feelings of multitudes at their value; to correct that woful inversion of feeling which is now so prevalent, of estimating the pains and pleasures of one man, as more than those of a million, and those of a million as less than those of one.

It is because the tract now before us possesses more of the spirit of philanthropy, than almost any of the political productions of the day, and because we are happy to say that it has attracted more of public attention than from the general apathy concerning the interests of humanity was to be expected, that we have

deemed it useful to call an article in *THE PHILANTHROPIST* by its name.

There is this difference, that the tract addresses itself chiefly to monarchs and ministers, and endeavours to find motives to persuade them to attend to the interests of humanity in the management of the new power which events have for the time placed in their hands. The sacrifices, we must say, are not slight which the author makes to gain their favourable opinion, both in compliment to their virtues, and in deference to their principles. On this feature of the pamphlet we have no praise to bestow. We never can approve of any compromise of principle. And the encouragement which is given to the flattery of courtiers and newspapers, by the still more hyperbolical flattery of men of talents, tends to uphold that corruption of princes which is the subject of so many complaints, and for which the flatterers, if ever the tide of prosperity turns, are sure to manifest the least indulgence.

It is to the people of England that we address ourselves ; and on a subject like this we trust that it is not necessary to sacrifice principle. We own that it is through the people, that we have any hope of rendering princes and ministers philanthropists. Mere exhortations to humanity, addressed in opposition to immediate and powerful interests, have, with exceptions wonderfully small, proved always unsuccessful. But princes and ministers are insensibly led into a conformity with the sentiments of the people among whom they live. The general tone of thinking and of feeling in a nation, has a compulsive force on all who come within its sphere. The princes of England, of the present day, can no more resemble the princes, of the time of William the Conqueror, for example, and of his more immediate successors, than they can resemble beings more perfect than have yet appeared in the human form. Their character and sentiments, speaking generally, are necessarily formed by those of the people among whom they live. If ever the condition of the masses of mankind comes to have that superior regard in the minds of men in general, to which it is indisputably entitled, it will possess a correspondent share of regard in the minds of princes, and not before. It is by the instruction of the people, and principally by a better education, that this enlargement of mind, this more exalted virtue, this more productive and useful philanthropy, is to be produced. Till then, it is by the interests of princes, in the vulgar sense of the word, that princes, like other men, will be governed. And we much dread that the persuasions of the author of the tract before us, to induce their

imperial and royal majesties of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to resign their acquisitions in Poland, and generously restore the Poles to liberty and independence, will not be of much avail. The declared and strong sense of the people of England, however, would have its effect upon the government of England; and the government of England could not fail to have an influence upon the interests and counsels of the monarchs in question.

The friends of humanity all over the world are indebted to the author of the tract before us, for the eloquence with which he has deplored the wrongs of the Poles, and endeavoured to excite an interest for their sufferings. If people would set apart a few moments to consider; and would only reflect that all the miseries which have been endured by any family, whom they most deeply deplore, by that of Louis the Sixteenth, for example, have been suffered, not by one family, but by hundreds and thousands of families, among the unhappy Poles; that no ruin can exceed that which has fallen upon a great proportion of all the families in Poland above the state of slaves, and even upon the slaves themselves; and that the imagination cannot conceive an excess of suffering beyond that to which they have been condemned; even this mental picture might be expected to produce some effect. People ought to be instructed, that to obtain a proper conception of the value of the pains or pleasures of a mass of their fellow-creatures, some reflection is necessary. The sufferings of an individual, of whom the idea is lively, convey themselves into the imagination instantaneously, and without effort. The idea of a multitude is in itself indistinct and obscure; and it gives birth to no distinct and lively emotion. It is necessary to think of an individual, and of his pains and pleasures; and afterwards to consider these, multiplied to the extent of the case; and thus to form a computation of what is suffered or enjoyed. The greater part of mankind, however, who act by immediate feeling, and are not guided by computation, have not strength for this line of proceeding; and a better education is needed to give it them. And hence it proceeds, that the condition of human beings, when contemplated in masses, is regarded with the indifference with which it generally is. The following are some of the details of Polish suffering:

“The plan of confiscating the lands of all persons who attempt any thing against the state, and rewarding services with those lands, has been peculiarly fruitful of misery to the country. Each partition has been followed with an enormous transference and destruction of property. Every movement of the Poles or march of foreign troops has had a similar consequence; and at all times an

accusation of disaffection has been too favourably listened to where a favourite was to be provided for. Some idea may be formed of the scale on which courtly merit is rewarded in those parts by the well-known history of many famous professors. Menzicoff, who rose from a drummer boy to be more than once Regent of the empire, derived from royal grants estates so extensive, that in journeying from the Baltic to the Caspian, through 15 degrees of latitude and 27 of longitude, he could, it is said, sleep every night on his own property. It is not indeed every day that such full-grown favourites are to be supported; but a multitude of smaller fry are every where seen to follow the marauders in chief; many are sharp enough to scent their prey from the capital; and even where appetite is not the motive, revenge or spite seldom fails to aid the progress of those nimble functionaries. The first step, upon a charge being preferred, was to carry off the accused person seven or eight hundred miles on his way towards Siberia. If he underwent some sort of examination, it was at a distance alike from his friends, his resources, and his proofs. His property in the mean time was all put in sequestration, and an exact inventory taken and transmitted to the Commission of Confiscations, which is opened as a matter of course each time a Russian army enters Poland. If the Commission pleased, it might declare the property confiscated, together with all debts due to the owner, without waiting for the result of his examination, which was indeed a mere form in almost every case. Should any happy accident procure his acquittal before the decree of confiscation, he might return and look for his possessions, but he in vain endeavoured to recognise them. They had been many months in the custody of persons (probably the informers or accusers) who had taken all that could be moved into safe-keeping, and imprinted indelible marks of their residence upon all the rest.

"If a proprietor of an estate happened to be absent, the presumption was instantaneous that he must be with the enemy, and confiscation followed of course. All those accidentally abroad were ruined in this manner, although they had for the most part gone, in time of peace, with passports from the government, on account of business, amusement, or health. The maxim, "*que les absens ont toujours tort*," is not exclusively French.—By a still greater refinement, when a mortgaged estate has been confiscated, and the estates of the proprietor situated abroad at some future change of dominion have come under the power of government, he has had to pay the money secured on the land first confiscated.

"It is sufficiently obvious that systematic rapine, under the colour of legal powers, has not been the only, perhaps not the worst suffering of the Polish proprietor since 1772. Wherever troops marched at any time, their progress was marked by devastation. Where they happened to be stationed, the neighbourhood was like a place recently taken by storm. Besides the ordinary complement of troops, which was always far greater in proportion than were

ever maintained upon their own territory, battalions were constantly passing and repassing in all directions, entering the country naked, and only remaining in it long enough to be completely equipped at its expense. Civil as well as military agents regarded every thing Polish at all times as made for their use, and the spirit remaining in the owner only exposed his person to insults, which a tamer proprietor would have escaped in losing his possessions."—

"But the most crying of all the evils which the unhappy Poles have suffered, the exile from their country, in all her misery ever dear to the most wretched of them, has fallen upon every class alike. The ancient prelate of Cracow, one of the highest dignitaries in the Christian church, hurried away from his flock to linger out the remains of his venerable age in the wilds of Asia, was only suffered to revisit his see after he had survived his reason. Above a hundred persons of eminence for rank, wealth, or public merit, have, in one season, been swept off in the metropolis, to the amazement of their fellow citizens, accustomed to regard them with reverence. We may form to ourselves some idea of the consternation which such an event happening in a town like Manchester, Glasgow, or Liverpool, would produce. If the influence or dignity of the highest station did not protect from such violence, the obscurity of the most humble afforded no shelter. Not only the peasantry were forced off by thousands to the army, and without any regular system or proportion; but private persons armed with authority, would, under pretence of raising men, carry away as many as it pleased them, and dispose of their persons in the neighbouring provinces, where men were saleable by law. One magistrate has, at a sweep, seized in this way some hundreds. The public, in like manner, has frequently executed plans for peopling districts in Siberia on the same principle. Professor Pallas relates a most affecting scene in that remote desert, where he found a tribe of Poles, the remains of many thousands thus torn from their country without even the pretext of an accusation. Time and the extremity of distress had stifled the desire of revisiting Poland; all that those unhappy beings implored, was the intercession of the traveller at court, that their little allotments might not, as heretofore, be taken from them as soon as their toils had brought them into what is reckoned cultivation in those dreary regions.

"It is desirable to avoid all recollections which only lead to unavailing irritation; conciliation ought now to be the only object: I pass over, therefore, the horrors which have, at various times, been exercised by the soldiery. For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped that a monster like Drewitz may never again be born of woman; and if it be impossible to forget the massacres of Praga, let us endeavour to draw a veil over them, when we reflect that, in return for all his victories, their author experienced only the fickleness of those courts and the cold neglect of that multitude which once adored him."

But it is of much less importance to deplore the past, than to take measures for the improvement of the future ; though Poland reads a most instructive commentary upon the creed, that oppression and injustice can only spring from a revolutionary source ; and that governments which have antiquity on their side are always favourable to the best interests of humanity. The rational course would be, to look neither to novelty nor antiquity as the standard of goodness, but to look solely to the benefit of mankind ; where knowledge and happiness are most encouraged, there to fix our highest esteem ; where ignorance and misery are most largely created, there to pour forth our loudest complaints ; whatever means are the best adapted for increasing the knowledge and happiness of mankind, and for diminishing their ignorance and misery, these to applaud, these to pursue, and to make as many others applaud and pursue them as possible.

The author of the tract before us says that the allied sovereigns ought to restore the Poles to their independence and their constitution of 1791, because none of the existing sovereigns and ministers had a hand in the foul deed of partition ; because, though the Poles have shown themselves partial to the cause of France, it was natural in them to look with favour to those who were the enemies of their enemies ; because it is required by fidelity to the principles on which the allied princes profess to act for the liberation of Europe ; because, without it, the balance of Europe cannot be restored ; because the doctrine of the balance of power is favourable to the peace and independence of nations ; because the partition of Poland was an atrocious violation of that system ; because the time which has elapsed has not converted that partition into prescription, since the allies themselves do not allow that a similar lapse has converted into prescription the usurpations of the French ; because England ought not to show by her indifference to Poland, that she only feels a concern in the fate of countries that may become her customers, or afford peculiar facilities for making her tremble at home ; because the allies have been greatly assisted by public opinion, and may equally suffer, if it is once more turned against them ; because they reap but little advantage from the violent occupation of Poland, producing little, and costing much ; because, in a flourishing state, its commerce to its neighbours would be more advantageous than its dominion ; because the aversion of the Poles to a foreign yoke renders unavoidable that severity of governing under which no country can be productive ; because, under the system of management which has actually been pursued, the country has been scourged, drained, exhausted ; because the violent occupation of

Poland is a cause of military weakness to the confederates, and a cause of strength to their enemies, the Poles having filled the ranks of the French from the very beginning of their contest with the rest of Europe ; because the restoration of independence to the Poles would form a bulwark of strength to the confederates, an invincible barrier to Russia, and a wall of partition between her and Austria and Prussia, averting the danger ever impending from interests liable to clash ; because the national antipathies between the Poles and Russians are the effect of mutual injuries, and would speedily disappear under mutual benefits ; because Poland would be the natural ally of Russia, principally depend upon her for assistance, and be swayed by her councils ; because, although it may thus appear that the power of Russia would receive a formidable increase, the danger of her neighbours would not be increased, since it is an increase which at any time she has it in her power to bestow upon herself, and since she might even erect Poland into a separate kingdom, with a distinct government, dependent upon herself, in the person of a Russian prince ; an arrangement which, though not the best, would approximate to the best, would be no little satisfaction to the Poles, and would certainly be not less dangerous to the neighbours of Russia, than the independence of Poland established by the joint beneficence of all the surrounding powers.

Undoubtedly it would be an animating spectacle could we behold an union of governments, in whose hands is placed the destiny of so large a portion of the human race, (as the triumph over Bonaparte, if really effected, would put in the hands of the confederate powers,) seriously concerning themselves about the happiness of the millions of human beings whom their arrangements affect. It would be a new scene in this world. The history of human affairs presents nothing with which it could be compared. It would be the greatest proof that ever was exhibited of the progress of the human mind ; of the influence of knowledge and civilization in strengthening the beneficent, and weakening the selfish principles of our nature ; of the progress which has been made in human happiness by an adherence to virtuous principle.

If such a happy change should in reality be exhibited, the condition of human nature may be to a wonderful degree improved. The state of Europe may now be compared to that of London after the great fire. The inconvenient structure of the old city had been the source of a great variety of evils, evils of which some were of the greatest magnitude ; it was not only per-

nicious to the general health of the inhabitants, lessening the duration of human life, but it rendered London a nursery for the plague, from which it was seldom entirely free, and by which at frequent intervals it lost a great proportion of its entire population. The destruction of the city by fire, however calamitous to the individuals who suffered, had this advantage, that it afforded an opportunity of rebuilding it upon a better plan; in consequence of which the health of the inhabitants has been improved, and the plague has been entirely extirpated. Had it not been for the opportunity afforded by the burning, ages might, and would have rolled on, without the removal of any considerable part of the evils which the inconvenience of the ancient structure produced. It has indeed been matter of pretty general and well-founded lamentation, that more extensive advantage was not taken of the occasion then presented; and that some of the more useful and beautiful plans which were presented by Sir Christopher Wren and others, were not followed. The analogy between this case, and that of Europe at the present hour, must strike every imagination. The ancient structure, the effect of hazard and of momentary convenience, in a rude and improvident age, is universally allowed in many respects to have been highly inconvenient, and to have produced evils, serious both in number and magnitude. The ancient structure, by the conflagration which has overrun so great a part of Europe, has been destroyed; and an opportunity is now presented, if the ambition of Bonaparte be really circumscribed, of re-edifying the fabric on a plan by which the former inconveniences may be avoided, and new benefits, of the greatest importance, may be conferred upon the people of Europe. The little interests of the ancient proprietors, and their obstinate habits and prejudices, are said to have obstructed the rebuilding of London upon the best plan after the fire. It would be too much to expect, that analogous interests and prejudices should not operate upon this greater occasion, and oppose the re-construction of the European system upon a better plan. It may be some counteraction to these interests and prejudices, to show the importance of the opportunity, and what will be lost by neglecting it; to point out what might be done, the good which would result from it if really done, and the evils which will continue if it is not done.

What is called the balance of Europe, upon which so many flowery panegyrics have been pronounced, and of which the prospect of revival has been hailed with so much enthusiasm, is described by the author of the tract before us, as a system by

which "any power that shall attack an unoffending neighbour, or in any manner of way aggrandize itself at his expense, shall meet with resistance to the aggression or acquisition in every other quarter: by which common cause is made against ambition, whether powerful or crafty, resisting its strides, and watching it when it crawls, protecting the weak against the strong, and stepping forward to oppose even the smallest encroachments, in order that resistance may not come too late." This description, like all other descriptions of the balance of power which we have ever seen, conveys not any very precise ideas. It rather describes the object at which the balance is supposed to aim, than the balance itself. The balance is supposed to be a combination of means to the attainment of an end; but this author only describes the end, and gives no account of the means. The end is unquestionably good. But it must be owned, that at no time has the combination of means for the attainment of that end been any thing else than extremely imperfect. At no time has it in any perfection attained the end; and for the attainment it has always produced a host of evils, which many wise men have thought greater perhaps than those which it was capable of averting, and greater by far than those which in its very imperfect state it actually did avert.

This author says that, according to the balance, "whatsoever power shall attack an unoffending neighbour, or in any manner of way aggrandize itself at his expense, shall meet with resistance to the aggression or acquisition in every other quarter." But this is altogether ideal and imaginary. No such system ever existed in Europe, except in the brains of the Abbé St. Pierre, or some similar enthusiast. What prince, under the ancient system, attempted an augmentation of territory, who, if he had one half of the powers of Europe against him, had not the other half ranged on his side? One of the most violent and memorable acts of aggression, and one of the most unprovoked which one power ever committed against another, was the invasion of Silesia by the King of Prussia; but was it he or the Empress Queen who was the most completely left without allies? Was it on the side of the aggressor, or that of the sufferer, that even Great Britain was arrayed?

The matter of fact truly is, that those opposing confederacies of the princes of Europe which formerly existed, and were always changing, were confederacies just as really for the purpose of aggrandizement, when aggrandizement could be effected, as for defence when defence was required. If not, the *status quo* would

have been the sole object of every negotiation, and without it the sword would never have been sheathed.

More or less, indeed, of the confederacies in question, always did, and from the nature of things always must exist. They were the effect of the fears of the smaller powers, and the rivalry of the great. On the part of the smaller powers, the object, no doubt, was principally defence. On the part of the great powers, it was more frequently aggression. The events which took place most commonly were, that the two greatest powers were placed in a state of opposition to one another, either actually at war, or each suspecting the other to be ready to embrace the first favourable opportunity for making it; and that each endeavoured to range on its side as many of the smaller powers as it could. These two confederacies, which were in general pretty equally matched, were called the balance of Europe; and, instead of being securities for peace, appeared to be only securities for extending every petty dispute into an universal war. All those little states which had most to dread from one of the two great powers, that is to say, would be the most convenient and profitable conquest to it, sided with the other great power, which had an interest in preventing its rival from making so great an accession of strength. Thus Holland sided with Austria to get protection against France. Thus Switzerland sided with France to get protection against Austria. It necessarily followed from this arrangement, that the smaller powers were always dragged into the wars of the greater; that the greater powers had an additional temptation to go frequently to war, because they warred in a great degree at the expense of those their dependents; and that those smaller states, though they preserved in this manner a sort of separate polity, paid for it dearly in the perpetual and enormous expenses to which their habitual state of warfare exposed them.

If the prevention of aggression and of war among the states of Europe be the end, surely this was not the best possible combination of means. The grand danger must always arise from the greater powers. To watch and bridle them is the principal object. But the feeble and precarious union of a number of small powers must ever be a very imperfect security. The uncertainty and inefficiency of all extensive confederacies has been so often experienced, as to have become almost proverbial. And any such balance of Europe as that which formerly existed for several ages, when two great powers stood rivals, and ranged around them the smaller states, is composed of materials so brittle, as, under the increased activity and enterprise of the human mind, cannot, if it

were possible to re-establish it, have any durable existence. Supposing the scales to be poised, it only requires a man of extraordinary talents to rise to the management of any one of the confederacies, or a new impulse to be communicated to the people, and it acquires an immediate preponderance which nothing can resist. Is not this the very history of the French conquests, and of the overthrow which, by means of them, the balancing system underwent? Is it likely that an equal period of dull uniformity, as that which succeeded the peace of Westphalia, will ever more revisit Europe? Those who can imagine so are poor observers of the human mind, and poor judges of the effects which the state into which it is brought must of necessity produce. But if this balance could only exist during that state of dull uniformity, and was immediately annihilated by the very first event by which the dull uniformity was disturbed, and by its downfall produced all the disorder and misery of the last twenty years, there is surely but little to hope from its re-construction, unless attended with such alterations and improvements as may better adapt it, under new circumstances, to the accomplishment of the end which it is intended to serve.

What are these alterations and improvements? is the question to the solution of which the political philosophers of Europe are impressively called, and the carrying of them into execution is the task which is required at the hands of the practical and official statesmen. This is the great point upon which the condition of the millions who partake in the blessings of peace, or the curses of war, most materially depends. To set up two overgrown and overbearing rivals, with nearly equal pretensions, and to range around them a number of smaller and dependent states, is rather to make of Europe one great gymnasium for the perpetual exhibition of gladiatorial sports, than to secure a scene of tranquillity and peace. Such it always was under the former ill-constructed system. Such it is sure to be under any system of a similar construction,—with this disadvantage, that every system of this bad construction must now be expected to come to speedy ruin, and by its ruin to involve the nations in confusion and calamity.

The object is to be attained, as all other objects are best attained, by fixing a distinct conception of the end, and making a choice of the most efficient means. The end in this case is the greatest possible security from aggression by one another among the nations of Europe. Now, whence arise the principal obstacles to that security? Undoubtedly from the ambition of the greater powers. What is wanted, therefore, is the best possible check to the ambition of the greater powers. What, then, is that best possible

check? Not, surely, a multitude of small states, part ranged on the side of one overgrown power, part on the side of another. The only efficient check to the ambition of one nation is the power of another. The general proposition may perhaps be most satisfactorily explained by a reference to the actual state of facts. The three great nations on the continent (for, happily, we here may leave England out of the case,) are France, Austria, and Russia. Find sufficient checks to the ambition of these nations, and of their actual and supposable rulers, and the nations of Europe may be considered as safe from external aggression. France, as having been the most recent and egregious offender, is at present the chief object of solicitude. Now common sense immediately dictates, that the best means of bridling the power of France is to place nations able to cope with her upon her frontier. Surround her only with small states, and check her with a rope of sand, composed of those small states, united precariously with some other great power at a distance, and the first man of extraordinary talents that assumes the management of her affairs, or the first unusual impulse communicated to the minds of her people, scatters the fragments of that system once more in the air. There is no real forbearance, except between parties which are nearly equal; and this maxim holds true still more strongly in the case of nations than of individuals. Make Holland, for example, really and permanently a potent state, by assigning to her a revenue and a population, that is, a territory equal to the maintenance, when need were, of a powerful army, an army sufficient to keep France in awe, the rest of Europe is then safe from the attempts of France on that quarter. Unite Switzerland to the north of Italy, and place a sufficient antagonist in that quarter, and France is already bridled. These powerful neighbours, whose territories would form the only convenient conquests for France, and who would always have the most to dread from her, would have sufficient stimulus to watch her motions, and to combine with one another, as well as with other nations, for resisting her attempts. The same policy it would be equally wise to pursue in regard to the two other greatest powers, Austria and Russia; to surround them also with states sufficient, either by themselves, or by a prompt and simple union, to resist their aggressions, and give them something to dread. With regard to the expediency at least, whatever may be said of the *practicability*, of such an arrangement as a check upon France, we expect to hear an universal concurrence. From the two other powers, we are aware, as the danger will not appear to be immediate, it will hence appear to be very small, and hardly worth the trouble of making any ar-

rangement to avert it. Such is the general course of thoughtless, improvident, short-sighted procedure, both in private and in public life. Were the power of France, however, completely reduced, and Austria and Russia relieved from all apprehension on that ground, it would only be necessary that one of them should acquire a sudden ascendancy over the other to produce all the mischief for which we are now blaming France. Suppose, what is always possible, and will every day become more and more probable, that in either of those countries such a revolution as that of France were to break out. If the impulse imparted to the minds of the people, were by any unhappy combination of circumstances made to turn outwards, and directed abroad, as was that of the people of France by the ever-to-be-lamented interference of the surrounding governments in her internal affairs, that country, whether Austria or Russia, if not opposed by any stronger barrier than France at the time of her revolution, might be expected to play a correspondent part. But to this supposition it is not even necessary to have recourse. Under the case which we have put, a prince of superior talents mounting the Austrian throne, while the surrounding princes were weak, might commit still more extensive mischief than arose from the ambition of Charles the Fifth. And if we only imagine a prince to mount the Russian throne having the activity and enterprise of Peter the First, and military talents like those of Suwaroff, with nothing prepared to oppose him but a frippery like that of the ancient balance, he might overrun Europe, as Asia was overrun by a Genghis Khan or a Tamerlane. The conquests would not be permanent. Nor have the conquests of Bonaparte been permanent. But the mischief produced would be vast, and its effects not speedily repaired.

We have no intention to enter into the details of politics, in order to point out in what manner the system of arrangements, which appears indispensably necessary to secure that good end at which what was called the balance of Europe was vainly supposed to aim, may be most conveniently and completely effected. If the parties on whom the arrangements depend only set about the work with good intention, the means, without much delay or much difficulty, will be found. It is obvious to all the world, that the present situation of Europe affords extraordinary facilities for making all those arrangements which the permanent benefit of the European people may seem to require; and that, if the present opportunity is lost, we must wait till a new revolution has removed the land-marks of Europe before such another will return.

But in combining means for securing the happiness of the European population; (for peace and independence themselves are

only good as means to an end,) the stability of the governments is not the *only* thing worthy of any consideration: surely the *qualities* of the governments under which it is proposed that the people should be immoveably fixed are of some importance. We shall not enter into a critical account of the former governments of that part of Europe which may come under the arrangements in prospect. It would not agree with the design of our work. But this much it is necessary to state, and surely we may state it with some confidence, that not one of them was nearly so favourable to the interests of humanity as they ought to have been, and as the new governments may and ought to be made. We should think that this would not be denied in any quarter, even where the interests of humanity are the most liable to be treated with indifference or contempt, after what has been thought advisable in regard to Holland. The government of Holland, we shall take it for granted, (even here too we may be contradicted,) was by far the best that continental Europe, under the ancient system, enjoyed. But the government of Holland has been treated as worthy of change. If the good of mankind be the object, it necessarily follows that every other government will be changed. If another example is wanted, we have that of Sicily, in which, by the agency of the British government itself, a revolution has been effected; the representative system has been introduced, and the power of the sovereign almost annihilated. A third example stands conspicuous in Spain, where, under the same auspices, a government composed of the representatives of the people has been set up. On a subject like this we cannot act more wisely than by clothing ourselves with the authority of a great man. Portugal is another country; and with regard to the government of Portugal we have a very important record of the sentiments of Lord Grenville. In the debate in the upper house of Parliament on the 22d of February 1810, on the message of the King relative to a point concerning the defence of Portugal, that noble lord is reported in the *Times* newspaper to have thus expressed himself: "It was unnecessary for him to dwell upon the manner in which the measures taken in Portugal had been conducted. But, if those who had the management of public affairs had possessed any wisdom, any capacity for enlightened policy, any right feelings with regard to the happiness of their fellow-creatures, here had been a wide field opened to them. They had got the possession of the dominion of our ally, with its government dissolved, and no means existing for the establishment of any regular authority but such as the British government could suggest. Here had been a glorious opportunity for raising the Portuguese

nation from that wretched and degraded condition to which *mental ignorance, civil oppression, and political tyranny and prostration* had reduced it. Here was a task worthy of the greatest statesmen. It was a work well suited to a wise and liberal, to an enlarged and generous spirit, to any just feeling or sound judgment of national interests, to impart the blessings of the free institutions of a free government to the inhabitants of a country oppressed and disgraced by tyranny."

We seem to be entitled, then, to assume the principle as recognised. A better system of government ought to be given to all those countries, the regulation of which may now be placed in the hands of the confederate princes. The vaunted opposition to tyranny and oppression, the generous solicitude expressed for the suffering nations, will be known for what they are worth, and recorded at their just value in the breasts of the European people, as soon as the governments are known which the confederate princes propose to establish in the countries reclaimed from the domination of the French. Without entering into details, with which neither the limits nor the design of our publication accord, a great deal may be expressed by three terms; liberty of religion, liberty of the press, and the representative system. Without these no improvement of the happiness of the people can be expected. Along with these, it is not easy to see how an important increase of happiness can be prevented. Of subsidiary arrangements, the most important of all would be a revisal of the legal and judicial system all over Europe; the administration of justice being every where shamefully and deplorably behind the light and knowledge of the present period, every where exhibiting the crude expedients of an ignorant age, and every where answering in the most imperfect manner the important ends which it is destined to serve.

Of the advantages which would spring from bestowing a beneficent system of government upon the liberated nations of Europe, many are so obvious that they cannot escape the most superficial glance. By the attachment of the people to a government that deserves their attachment, you erect the strongest of all possible barriers to the progress of conquest. The French overran Europe with such astonishing rapidity, because the people of Europe, as Mr. Windham happily expressed it, detached from their ancient governments, presented an *unresisting medium*; and a victory over a sluggish and mechanical army was the conquest of the country. When every man has a house, which is the scene of happiness, security, domestic and local affection, under a government which not only protects his person and his property,

but, instead of depressing, elevates his mind, every man is ready to defend what is dearer to him than life, because it is the security of all for which life is desirable.

Another advantage may be mentioned, perhaps of not less importance, but which has not as yet attracted equal notice. In proportion as a people are happy at home, the less, *cæteris paribus*, are they likely to make war upon their neighbours abroad. This follows from the fundamental principles of human nature, and is therefore necessarily and comprehensively true. It is also confirmed by particular experience. Savages are perpetually at war. Rude nations are at war almost perpetually. It was much less easy to make soldiers of the people of Holland than of those of Germany, of the people of England than those of France; and of those of Anglo-America than any other in the world. When people have many comforts at home, they are not easily induced to abandon home. When they are wretched at home, the vagabond life of a soldier presents itself in the shape of a relief. The fact most happily is, that the very same circumstances which render a people most to be depended upon for defensive warfare, render them most abhorrent of that which is offensive; that which renders them the most determined opponents of aggression, is that which renders them least to be feared as aggressors.

If stability and permanence in the European system be, as they appear to be, regarded as objects of primary desire; forms of government calculated to secure the happiness of the people will assume in our eyes a new station of importance. The history of all the world shows that a military despotism is the least stable and fixed of all the forms of society, and, in the state into which the human mind in Europe is now brought, must of necessity have less chance for permanence than at any former period. After the pure coercion of a military power, there is nothing to secure the steady obedience of the people, but either, first, a superstitious and blind reverence, or, secondly, a conviction of benefit. It has been the complaint of Burke and others, that the superstitious and blind reverence is gone. The complaint is to a great degree well founded. It is however certain, that, when the blind and superstitious reverence is once gone, it never can be restored. It is gone, as that writer says, for ever. Nothing, therefore, but the conviction of benefit remains, as a ground worthy of any dependence for the permanent obedience of the people. Hereafter, throughout the whole of the enlightened part of Europe, governments, we may rely upon it, will be permanent and secure, in proportion to their goodness; that is, their conduciveness to the happiness of the subjects. Rude and ill-constructed govern-

ments, governments calculated to pamper and gratify all the passions and propensities of the smaller, at the expense of the greater number, are machines which, under the intellectual climate of Europe, cannot now be long held together. They are only calculated to give birth to revolution after revolution, and to expose mankind repeatedly to all those evils for which we have so long been deploring the convulsions in France.

All that class of persons, therefore, who seem to be the most deeply impressed with a sense of the evils which spring from revolutions, will, by unavoidable necessity, if they are sincere in their pretensions of benevolence, and if it is not all the while the abuses only of bad governments for which they are anxious, be the foremost and warmest promoters of all those improvements in government which are most conducive to the happiness of mankind, and hence to their contentment, tranquillity, and obedience.

On Frugality Banks.

THE article in the last number of THE PHILANTHROPIST, on Frugality Banks, cannot fail to interest every one who is concerned to raise the moral and political condition of the poor. Many of the observations are undoubtedly just and striking; but others which respect the *detail* of the plan it may not be useless to reconsider.

In the first place, it is apprehended that a very material improvement might be made in point of cheapness and simplicity; qualities of no small importance in any scheme to be carried into execution by the efforts of individual benevolence. It is not requisite to provide an office or a clerk for transacting the business, nor will there be any difficulty in the application of the sums raised, provided any tradesman can be found who will undertake the task. As every man of business must of necessity keep a certain floating capital for the purpose of making his usual payments; and as this surplus, when considerable, is generally vested in bills or government securities bearing interest, it will produce no inconvenience to him whatever to transfer the sums he receives of the poor from time to time into his trade; crediting in his books "Frugality Bank so much." The individual accounts of the poor will require to be kept, of course, in a separate cash-book and ledger. When the balance in hand reaches a certain

amount, it may, if desired, be vested in the funds or other eligible security.

For the sake of perfectly satisfying the poor respecting the security of their money, it is desirable that the safe repayment of the sums deposited should be publicly guarantied by three or four gentlemen of known property and respectability.

In order to encourage the establishment of these institutions, the following statement is given of the very trifling expenses attendant on a frugality bank which has been conducted by the writer since September 1812.

	£.	s.	d.
Two account books	0	12	6
Printing 300 proposals	0	15	0
Stamp for a bond of indemnity to the guaranties, the attorney having handsomely offered his services gratis	3	0	0

£. 4 7 6

This last expense will not of course occur again. As to the loss of interest, from small sums occasionally lying unemployed, it cannot be exactly calculated; but certainly it has not exceeded ten shillings per annum.

The loss of time would, however, be probably objected by a man of business. On this head the writer is happy to think that he can also remove all difficulty, by stating the result of his own experience. The whole time occupied in paying and receiving money, as well as in keeping the accounts, has certainly been less than twelve hours in twelve months. It may be worth the consideration of every tradesman, whether he can do so much good at so small an expense by any other means.

It must be confessed, however, that had the plan entirely answered the wishes and expectations of the framers, the labour of attendance would have been considerably greater. Although it was stated in the original proposals that no sum, however small, would be refused, only two instances have occurred where less than a pound has been received at once. It does not therefore afford that immediate inducement to *begin to save*, which might have been desired. Yet as it must produce considerable benefit in its present form, while the expense and trouble are proved by experience to be so exceedingly small, it is not unreasonable to hope the plan may be adopted, at least in this simple form, in many other places.

The number of persons with whom accounts stand open has

been increasing pretty uniformly since the first establishment. At present it is fifty-one. The balance in hand is 1280*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* A pretty large proportion of the applicants are domestic servants, the rest mostly labourers in husbandry. In some instances persons at the distance of ten miles have sent small sums to be placed in the bank.

The expense of stamps is paid by the person who makes a deposit. It would perhaps be an improvement if it were paid on drawing out the money, agreeably to an excellent principle laid down in the article in the last number, that every possible encouragement should be given to making deposits, while it should be rendered rather more difficult to draw out.

The rate of interest allowed is five per cent.; and notwithstanding the arguments contained in the paper alluded to, I am inclined to think this will, on the whole, be found preferable to a higher rate, for the following reasons:

1st. The calculation of interest at five per cent., or a penny per pound per month, is so exceedingly simple, that the poor themselves can readily ascertain whether or not they receive their just due. I acknowledge, however, that ten or fifteen per cent. would present exactly the same advantage.

2nd. To give more than the legal rate of interest would in some measure change the nature of the benefit it afforded. As long as the poor man receives no more than five per cent., though he may very properly feel grateful for the time and attention which are devoted to his accommodation, yet he is under no pecuniary obligation,—his independence is not infringed;—a point to which we ought scrupulously to attend in our plans for the benefit of the frugal and industrious poor.

3rd. The expense of any considerable enlargement of the rate of interest would be enormous, if the plan should succeed as may be expected and desired. In a few years a bank established in a country town may be very reasonably supposed to accumulate a sum of five or six thousand pounds in hand. If ten per cent. interest were allowed, it would be requisite to collect by subscription from 250*l.* to 300*l.* per annum to replace the deficit, without calculating any thing for expenses of management. Such a sum, it is apprehended, would not be easily raised.

Lastly. It does not appear that an increased rate of interest would operate very powerfully as an inducement to saving. In speaking of this subject, the poor dwell more on the point of security, and the advantage of having their money placed out of the temptation of spending, than on the advantage of accumulation. The country bankers receive money at the rate of three per cent.,

with a stipulation of receiving six months notice previously to its being withdrawn. This last circumstance appears to weigh more with the poor than the loss of two per cent.

Let us now consider of the advantages or disadvantages of a legislative establishment for these banks.

The first obvious disadvantage would be the loss of cheapness and simplicity. Secondly, the business would not be so well performed. As long as it is undertaken by individuals, there is good reason to believe none but fit persons (at any rate persons interested in the success of the plan) will have the superintendence of it. On the contrary, were an office established by Government in every town, with a fixed salary, the most necessitous rather than the best qualified person would often be selected to fill the situation, from a mistaken principle of charity, if not for worse reasons. Were it left in the hands of churchwardens and overseers, we must bid adieu to all hopes of benefiting the poor. It would soon become a system, on the first application for relief, to seize on the little property which the poor man had been accumulating for years at the expense of many a severe privation; or at least to make this a plea for refusing him that assistance to which he would otherwise be entitled. So far from an institution of this kind being under the control of the parish officers, the manager ought to conceal from them all knowledge of the persons who have placed money in his hands.

I am aware it may be said, that if a man can be induced to save, he will not stand in need of parochial relief. Unfortunately, however, so completely is the parochial system matured, that an agricultural labourer *cannot* live on his wages, however frugal and industrious he may be. In fact, what he receives from his employer is only a part of his wages, the rest he receives from the parish officers.

In most country parishes I am acquainted with, every labourer who applies for relief receives 18*d.* per head per week for every child above two. If he has five or six children, it is physically impossible for him to support them on 12*s.* per week, the common price of labour. And if he were to be debarred all relief till the little store in the bank were exhausted, it would not only be a case of great cruelty, but effectually prevent all saving for the future, either on his own part or that of his neighbours.

How far it may be possible to convince the class of master agriculturists of the impolicy of enslaving their labourers, and of the benefits that would result to themselves from an endeavour to raise the political condition of the poor, is a different question; a very interesting one undoubtedly, as it seems to point out the

only practical means of abolishing the present degrading system. But, *until* they are so convinced, to place the savings of the poor in the hands of the parish officers would be in the first place very cruel, and secondly would give a death blow to the success of the plan.

After these banks were established pretty generally through the country, it might perhaps be of advantage were the Legislature to enact a few simple regulations for the purpose of giving them a sanction and permanency, as well as to relieve them from the burden of taxation, as in some degree has been done already with respect to Friendly Societies,—leaving the whole of the detail and arrangement to the discretion of private individuals.

Chichester, Feb. 16, 1814.

CIVIS.

Substance of the Speeches of William Wilberforce, Esq., on the Clause in the East India Bill for promoting the religious Instruction and moral Improvement of the Natives of the British Dominions in India, on the 22d of June and the 1st and 12th of July 1813.

It is with the greatest pleasure, and the greatest warmth, that we recommend to the attention of the British public this admirable speech, which has in it almost every thing to content both the Christian and the philosopher.

It is well known with what pertinacity, and with what strange propositions in the shape of arguments, a great proportion of the English gentlemen who have been in India have endeavoured to prevent the preaching of Christianity in that country.

The only branch of their allegations which had any foundation in reality, respected a ground which Mr. Wilberforce, in the speech before us, completely renounces. It was at one-time proposed, that an established church, an offset from the church of England, with bishops and other dignitaries, should be planted in India. This the opponents in question represented as a measure which would identify the cause of Christianity with the cause of Government, and would incurably establish, in the minds of the people of India, the idea, and the dread of compulsion against the religion of their fathers. To this measure we should have objected, not so much for being hostile to our dominion over the natives, (though we are of opinion that it would have been that also,) as for being hostile to the diffusion of Christianity, which a church establishment would have gone far to arrest.

The opinions of those who are favourable to church establishments we wish to treat with that respect which dissidents that are honest and sincere owe to the opinions of one another. We are even willing to treat with indulgence something of that intemperance toward opposite opinions, which the thought of being the strongest party naturally throws into the behaviour of the church, and which individual churchmen, who happen to have little moderation in their natures, practise without reserve. But it would be very wrong to forbear, when the occasion requires, to point out the respects in which an establishment is ill adapted to accomplish the ends which it is supposed to have in view.

We need not repeat, what experience has established as a truth in the minds of all, that an establishment is not favourable to the apostolical activity and zeal of its ministers; and that the more opulent it is, and the greater the worldly prizes which it holds out to its ministers, the less of that activity and zeal it is likely to possess. These effects flow so necessarily from obvious causes, that all illustration of them is rendered superfluous. It is also true, and will not be denied, that to convert a country in which Christianity is unknown, and in which its introduction is opposed by obstructions so powerful as exist in India, extraordinary activity and zeal are required. A church establishment, then, and the conversion of the Indians, are circumstances not well adapted to one another.

We shall stop to mention only one other circumstance; that as the members of a church establishment themselves would certainly not make the exertions necessary for the conversion of the Indians, so they would have sufficient motives to hate, and sufficient power to oppose, the exertions of other people. This is a consideration which deserves profound attention. And hitherto it has met with very little. Whatever proselytes are made by missionaries, namely ministers not of the establishment, are proselytes made not *for* the establishment, but *against* the establishment; in the full sense, at least, in which dissent is against the establishment, that is, according to clerical interpretation, a sense in which it merits their disapprobation and constant resistance. The more completely an establishment embraces the population, and the more implicit their assent to its tenets, the more complete is the influence of the priests, and the more certain they are of all those gratifications and advantages which a power over the human mind involves. Every dissenter is a defalcation to such an extent from that power, and all its delightful effects: to take away, therefore, proselytes from the church; to engage the natives of India to become Baptists and Presbyte-

rians, and thus to prevent their becoming churchmen, would naturally be odious to the ministers of an established church, and could not but be expected to insure more or less of their opposition. We should thus, by means of an establishment, erect a fresh obstacle to the progress of Christianity in India, by erecting a powerful body of men who would have an interest in opposing its propagators, the only sort of men from whom efficient efforts for its propagation can rationally be expected.

With these convictions, it gave us the highest satisfaction to find the author of the present address taking the broad and liberal, that is, the high and every way unexceptionable ground, which is marked out in the following expressions: "I am persuaded we shall all concur in thinking, that it ought to be left to the spontaneous benevolence and zeal of individual Christians, controlled of course by the discretion of Government, to engage in the work of preaching the gospel to the natives in our Indian territories; and that the missionaries should be clearly understood to be armed with no authority, furnished with no commission from the governing power of the country." "In the work of conversion I abjure all ideas of compulsion; I disclaim all use of the authority, nay even of the influence, of Government. I would trust altogether to the effects of *reason and truth*, relying much on the manifest tendency of the principles and precepts of Christianity to *make men good and happy*." This is an important passage. These are the sentiments of an enlarged and enlightened mind. What is *true*, and what is *useful*, for that is useful which makes men "good and happy," may, according to Mr. Wilberforce, be left to their own impression upon the minds of men. No "authority," no "influence of Government" are required. Leave to publish them is of itself sufficient. It is sufficient, according to the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, even when the difficulties are the greatest, when a religion entirely new is to be introduced, in opposition to the most deep-rooted and extensive system of prejudices that ever were found among men. If it be sufficient even then, much more must it be sufficient in all cases where the difficulties are less.—In these doctrines Mr. Wilberforce speaks like a truly enlightened man and a good Christian: but we must not dissemble; in our opinion he does not speak like a good churchman. If *truth and utility* be thus sufficient, not merely for their own support, but for their own propagation, in the most adverse circumstances, what possible use can there be for an establishment to uphold them when circumstances are highly favourable? Those churchmen are far behind Mr. Wilberforce in philosophy, who maintain that *truth*

and *utility* require much more than their own evidence for their support ; but they are before him in consistency. If truth and utility, when freely enunciated, are competent to their own support and propagation, that which needs an artificial establishment for its support gives so far a presumption against itself, that it is not truth and utility. According to this doctrine, establishments are a sort of standing argument against Christianity ; and it is only by denying their utility that we can elude its force.

Another sentiment, to which it is of great importance to receive the sanction of Mr. Wilberforce, because many excellent men, looking to a different stage of Christianity, are apt to disallow its force, he thus admirably expresses : " Permission to missionary labours in India is one object, but by no means the only, perhaps not the principal one. After much reflection, I do not hesitate to declare that, from enlightening and informing the Indians, in other words, from education and instruction ; from the diffusion of knowledge, from the progress of science, more especially from all these combined with the circulation of the holy Scriptures in the native languages, I ultimately expect even more than from the direct labours of missionaries, properly so called. By enlightening the minds of the natives, we should root out their errors without provoking their prejudices ; and it would be impossible that men of enlarged and instructed minds could continue enslaved by follies and superstitions."

It is truly delightful thus to contemplate the power of knowledge and instruction in dissipating the causes of human misery, and insuring the progress of all those circumstances on which happiness is founded. And it is also delightful, amid the opposition which these views so generally encounter, from the false opinions of some and the sinister interests of others, to receive in their favour the decided testimony of a man, whose authority will go so far with a large and important portion of our countrymen.

As Mr. Wilberforce has not proved himself one of those who are contented with declaring their opinions respecting what they consider favourable to the well-being of man, but has exerted himself to accomplish by action what he applauds in thought, we are persuaded that this declaration of his respecting the efficacy of education and knowledge among the people of India, will not in his hands rest a bare speculation, but that it will be followed by the practical exertions which are its natural result. If education, and the other means of diffusing useful knowledge among the people of India, are, in the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, of still more importance for the introduction among the Indians of all that is good in religion, morals, in social and political life,

than the more peculiar labours of the missionaries themselves ; and if the advantage of missionary labours is in some degree provided, but for education and instruction no peculiar provision has yet been so much as thought of, we venture to predict that so deplorable an inconsistency between our opinions and our actions, so great a disparity between our means of doing good and our actual performance, will not long be overlooked by his beneficent mind. The population of India are not less worthy, that he should take them by the hand, than the population of Africa. And happily the means of benefiting the one are much more certain than those of the other. An efficient system of schooling, with a provision of proper books, would prepare the way in India for every thing which the philanthropist desires. And why should not measures be taken, without the loss of any more time, without any more expense of human degradation and misery, for the schooling of the Indians ? Can a single argument be advanced against it ? Does not every consideration of religion, of humanity, and even of policy, plead loudly in its favour ? Why, then, should not Mr. Wilberforce give it immediately the benefit of parliamentary discussion ? To the enlightened part of the British parliament and the British public, the object, we are persuaded, requires only to be made known to insure their approbation. Of all the modes of impressing a great object upon the public mind, that of parliamentary discussion is the most important. And if this subject, than which a greater never occupied the attention of a legislative assembly, were taken up with the accustomed ardour and perseverance of Mr. Wilberforce, and recommended to parliament, and to the country, by the force of his eloquence and of his name, another great triumph in the cause of humanity might be added to the list of his philanthropic achievements.

It cannot escape the observation of any man, nor be recollected without delight, that the prodigious improvements which have been recently introduced into the business of education, present facilities for extending its blessings and the blessings of European instruction in India, to a degree never before contemplated. Schools upon the new and economical plan, at a most trifling expense, might be spread almost immediately over the whole of the British dominions in India. The mind is lost in contemplating the train of blessings which rush upon its conception along with the thought of this simple improvement.

It is of importance that we should mention one particular. It is the principle of "Schools for All," not the restrictive principle, unhappily so much supported in England, of schools for esta-

blished-churchmen only, that is applicable to the immense population of India. The catechism of the Church of England, with its excluding powers, must not be an indispensable requisite in the Indian schools. Allow admission to the very idea that they have any religious bearing or purpose whatsoever; your schools will be erected in vain; and all the benefits which the eye of reason and humanity contemplates from their establishment forfeited and lost. A number of boys, and it is not a small number that will suffice, competent to teach the system to the natives in all parts of India, are first to be put in training. And efficient measures for that purpose cannot be taken too soon. The details of organization might in the mean time be studied and fixed. And this great engine of improvement in a very short space of time might be set at work upon thirty or forty millions of the human race, at present sunk in misery and darkness.

The institution which already exists for training schoolmasters in the knowledge of the new system, upon the principle of Schools for all, an institution from which so much good has already redounded to the country, and from which so much more may be confidently expected, appears to be most fortunately prepared for so grand an exigency, and might easily, with but a small addition to its very scanty and hitherto very precarious funds, be rendered adequate to the demands of all the wide extent of the British dominions.

We could not wish to see the great subject of the education of the people of India in better hands. Few things in the world could have affected us with more sincere delight than to find it taken into such hands, and declared to be that object of primary importance, which we are profoundly satisfied that it is. We can have no fear, that, so taken up, and its rank in the scale of importance so declared, it will be allowed to drop, and to sink into death, or even sleep and oblivion.

We know not any train of moral reasoning more completely victorious than that of Mr. Wilberforce, in the discourse before us, in answer to the various objections which have been so industriously and so pertinaciously held up in opposition to the proposal of communicating religious or any other instruction to the people of India. That these objections were almost all in the highest degree foolish and absurd, did not render it less necessary to expose them; nor indeed less difficult; for opinions which have the least to support them, and yet have gained credence, are commonly the most difficult to refute, as scarcely any medium of proof can be found to clothe their absurdity in stronger colours than those which it naturally presents. Even supposing

that in pamphlets, and in periodical publications, in some of which they have been ably handled, these objections may not have gone so long without an answer, it was of importance that they should be taken up in a body, and obtain as complete an answer as they have here received; received too from a man whose name insures publicity to his publications, and whose authority will guide many whose minds may be too feeble to feel the strength of his reasonings.

Among the grounds of opposition to the instruction of the Indians, one that has been very boldly assumed, is their superiority to the need of instruction. We have been met with a flat assertion, that, in point of religion and morals, the people of India are as happily situated as those of Britain, if not better. Mr. Wilberforce has judiciously met those gentlemen upon their own ground. He has removed the question of the divine authority of the Christian religion out of the field, and placed the argument upon the ground on which any enlightened unbeliever would discuss it with another. And not only has he established his conclusions; not only has he proved that the Hindus are in a state of the most profound degradation, both moral and intellectual, and that the Christian system, valued merely for its good sense and morality, is calculated to improve inconceivably the state of their minds; but he has in the course of his discussion manifested an acquaintance with the most enlightened philosophy, such as few men in active life possess; and has brought forward deep and comprehensive principles, to which, with men who pretend to action not speculation, it is no slight advantage to have obtained the sanction of his authority.

We know little in political speculation more truly philosophical than the following passage, in which, descanting upon the moral inferiority and corruption of the Hindus, he mounts to its fundamental causes, and proves that there can be no good morals where there is no good government; that religious and political freedom are the only soil in which good morals can grow; and that the excellence or vileness of the human character is exactly proportional to the excellence or vileness of the institutions under which it is formed.

“ But, sir, have not moral causes their sure and infallible effects? Is it not notorious, that the nations of India have, from the very earliest times, groaned under the double yoke of political and religious despotism? And can it then be maintained, that these must not have produced a proportionate degradation of their moral character? And is it in a British House of Commons, above all other

places, where such a doctrine as this is maintained? Are we so little sensible of the value of the free constitution and religious liberty which we enjoy, and so little thankful for them, as to tolerate such propositions? No, sir: I trust we shall be protected by our feelings, no less than by our understandings, against being carried away by any such delusions. No, sir: the common sense of mankind, in this country at least, is not to be so outraged; and, in truth, we find the morals and manners of the natives of India just such as we might have been led to expect from a knowledge of the dark and degrading superstitions, as well as of the political bondage, under which they have been so long bowed down. To which I may add, that, such is the nature of their institutions and customs, that not religion only, but common humanity, should prompt us to exert all legitimate methods for producing the discontinuance of them."

We know not any doctrine, on which more important conclusions depend, than that from which Mr. Wilberforce thus reasons with so much eloquence and force. If, as he justly assumes, "moral causes have their sure and infallible effects;" and if, as he no less justly assumes, "political or religious despotism" is a cause from which moral turpitude in the character of the people must flow, as "a sure and infallible effect," how warmly ought our endeavours to be animated to improve the religious and political liberty of mankind! and how strenuously ought we to labour for the removal of every obstacle by which the amelioration of political and religious institutions is impeded! Upon this, not merely the physical but the moral condition of mankind depends, their virtue or vice, their truth or falsehood, their cruelty or humanity, their purity or impurity, every thing in short which we love, or every thing which we detest, in human nature.

In accounting for the remarkable number of the English gentlemen who, speaking as eye-witnesses of India, assert the excellence of Hindu morals, Mr. Wilberforce makes some important strictures on the nature of the evidence which their testimony implies. The following is an inference most completely supported by the facts:

"Sir, I boldly affirm, that this position, that the attachment of the Hindus to their own institutions is so fixed that it cannot be overcome, is a gross error, abundantly falsified by much, and even by recent, experience. I beg the House to attend to this point the more carefully, because it serves as a general test by which to estimate the value of the opinions so confidently promulgated by the greater part of those gentlemen who have spoken of Indian affairs, both in this house and out of it, from personal experience. This is a persuasion universally prevalent among them; and if it can be

disproved, as easily, as it will shortly I trust appear to you to be, it will follow, that those gentlemen, however respectable where their understandings have fair play, in point both of natural talents and acquired knowledge (and no man admits their claim to both more willingly than myself), are here under the influence of prejudice, and are not therefore entitled to the same degree of weight as if they were free from all undue bias."

The next passage we shall quote, relates to a fact which never should escape out of our minds, that a very great proportion of our countrymen return from India profoundly ignorant of the people, and of almost all that relates to them; full notwithstanding of certain opinions adopted upon trust; which they disperse with great assurance; and, by the presumption of a personal acquaintance which they really have not, impose upon the unwary, and propagate the most erroneous notions.

"It is notorious," says Mr. Wilberforce, "that from the earliest times there have been many churches of native Christians in India. For the whole of the last century, the work of conversion has been going on with more or less success; and at this moment there are hundreds of thousands of native Christians in the East Indies.

"But here again, in justice to my argument, I cannot but remind the House of the signal example which this instance affords of the utter ignorance of our opponents on the subject we are now considering: for a gentleman of high character, of acknowledged talents and information, who had passed thirty years in India, and who, having fairly made his way to the first situations, possessed for full ten years a seat in the Supreme Council in Bengal, stated at your bar, that he had never heard of the existence of a native Christian in India, until after his return to England; he then learned the fact, to which however he seemed to give but a doubting kind of assent, from the writings of Dr. Buchanan. Can any thing more clearly prove, that gentlemen, instead of seriously turning their minds to the subject, and opening their eyes to the perception of truth, have imbibed the generally prevailing prejudices of men around them, without question, and have thus suffered themselves to be led away to the most erroneous conclusions?"

The following passage explains in a few words the manner in which Indian gentlemen too frequently adopt their opinions.

"Even Swartz's converts, it is alleged, were all of the lowest class of the people, wretches who had lost caste, or were below it; and the same assertion is generally made concerning the native Christians at this day. This again, sir, is one of those wretched prejudices which receive easy credence, because they fall in with the preconceived notions of the receiver, and pass current from man to man without being questioned, in spite of the plainest and most decisive refutation."

What a source of false notions, and of weak conduct, the credulity of most men respecting every thing which flatters their prevalent opinions as well as their interests and passions, every man of common experience must have observed. As the English gentlemen, in India, commanding soldiers, or seated in public offices, in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred, never mix with the natives, nor make any personal acquaintance with any thing about them, except their external appearance as they are seen in the streets or the roads, they are under the necessity of borrowing almost all their opinions; the bank from which they draw, consisting of a set of notions handed down from one succession to another, and originally taken up by a mixture of chance, half knowledge, and individual temperament. We know few things to which, for the right conduct of belief, a more constant attention is requisite, both in the formation of our own opinions, and crediting the opinions of others, than a watch upon the propensity to believe whatever falls in with our preconceived notions, or in any way flatters our existing desires. There is no prejudice so wretched, which, as Mr. Wilberforce justly remarks, may not receive easy credence, if thus introduced. It is to this weakness that one half of the "wretched prejudices" which exist in the world, owe their support. And it is to the "wretched prejudices" which thus exist, that one half of the misery which afflicts mankind owes its unhappy preservation. Could we but get rid of the wretched prejudices which exist, and by which the knowledge of the age is disgraced, what a change should we speedily produce in the state of mankind! And how unfortunate it is, that there are among us persons of high attainments and influence, who talk of "cherishing their prejudices," and by their encouragement teach other people to cherish theirs! A prejudice is, by the import of the word, an opinion not founded in truth; since belief in truth cannot be prejudice. To cherish prejudices, therefore, is to cherish error and falsehood. Yet an exhortation to cherish them has been called philosophy. Alas! how little is the nature of philosophy in general as yet understood! It is satisfactory to find so much of its true spirit breathed in the present discourse, which from its own excellence and the popularity of its author, we trust, is sure of an extensive circulation, and of making no ordinary impression on the public mind.

With this opinion of it, we are extremely sorry that the author should in one instance have been betrayed into the following very exceptionable expression: "Agreeing with him in the virulence of the disease, I differ entirely with respect to the remedy:" [The remedy to which he alludes is the revival of the force of the Hin-

du and Mohammedan religions:] "Blessed be God, we have a remedy, fully adequate, and specially appropriate to the purpose. That remedy, sir, is Christianity, which I justly call the appropriate remedy; for Christianity then assumes her true character, no less than she performs her natural and proper office, when she takes under her protection those poor degraded beings, *on whom philosophy looks down with disdain, or perhaps with contemptuous condescension.*" It is of course the concluding expression of this passage to which we object, which we are persuaded is not conformable to the thoughts of Mr. Wilberforce, and therefore the effect of inadvertence; for Mr. Wilberforce repeatedly appeals to philosophy, as consisting in the search of the constituents of human happiness, to which, therefore, the excess of human misery can never be an object of indifference, much less of disdain. The habit of railing against philosophy is a very bad habit, and should not be encouraged by such a man as Mr. Wilberforce, who not only draws largely from her stores, but liberally appeals to her authority. Errors are but too apt to be committed in the name of philosophy, as they are in the name of religion itself. But it is only on what is intrinsic to both that the enlightened mind will ground its decision. Remarkable is the contradiction to one another of the objections which one hears to philosophy. The cry which of late has been uttered the most loudly against philosophy, is for seeking to *raise* the degraded orders of mankind. Here Mr. Wilberforce accuses it of *despising* them. These accusations, therefore, destroy one another. Yet Mr. Wilberforce, by ascribing the evils of the French revolution to the French philosophers, appears to have adopted both.

We hasten from this topic, the only one in the discourse from which we did not derive satisfaction; and we come to a doctrine which we earnestly wish may produce a deep impression upon the minds of our countrymen. It applies to the greatest interests.

"Sir, I indignantly repel the charge which has been unjustly brought against me, that I am bringing an indictment against the whole native population of India; and 'what have they done to provoke my enmity?' Sir, I have lived long enough to learn the important lesson, that flatterers are not friends: nay, sir, they are the deadliest enemies. Let not our opponents, therefore, lay to their souls this flattering unction, that they are acting a friendly part towards the Hindus. No, sir; they, not I, are the real enemies of the natives of India, who, with the language of hollow adulation and 'mouth honour' on their tongues, are in reality recommending the course which is to keep those miserable beings bowed down under the heavy yoke which now oppresses them. The most able of

our opponents has told us, that some classes of the natives are as much below others as the inferior animals are below the human species. Yes, sir, I well know it; and it is because I wish to do away this unjust inequality, to raise these poor *brutes* out of their present degraded state to the just level of their nature, that I am now bringing before you their real character, and explaining to you their true condition. And am not I, therefore, acting the part of the real friend? For true friendship, sir, is apprehensive and solicitous; it is often jealous and suspicious of evil; often it even dreads the worst concerning the objects of its affection, from the solicitude it feels for their well-being, and its earnestness to promote their happiness."

Every sentence of this paragraph ought to be weighed, and the extent of its application deliberately and carefully traced. Those persons, for example, who, moved with a beneficent zeal for improvement, point out the defects in our institutions, constitutional, legal, or religious, are too often loaded with the same accusation, which Mr. Wilberforce, pronouncing it unjust, here indignantly repels from himself. What Mr. Wilberforce calls "the important lesson, *that flatterers are not friends*," applies no less to institutions than to persons. The adversaries of improvement may be equally warned, "not to lay the flattering unction to their souls, that they are acting a friendly part towards" existing institutions; that "the real enemies" of such institutions are they who, "with the language of hollow adulation and *mouth honour*, are in reality recommending the course which is to keep" those institutions imperfect, and so far the just objects of disapprobation and hatred. To "bring before" the public "their real character, and to explain their true condition," is the real friendship. Zeal and eagerness to detect and make known what is faulty may be only a greater proof of friendship. "For true friendship is apprehensive and solicitous. It is often jealous and suspicious of evil: often it even dreads the worst concerning the objects of its affection, from the solicitude it feels for their well-being, and its earnestness to promote their happiness." How often, in trials for what is called a libel, might these just and profound observations find their application! and what unfounded and pernicious doctrines are allowed to operate in their place! There are some of our readers who may derive from them important lessons.

In offering his strictures upon the mutiny at Vellore, which set that melancholy transaction on its proper basis, Mr. Wilberforce asserts boldly, that the mode of treatment was such as to produce the revolt, and that such effects may always be expected to flow from similar causes.

"I have the highest authority, that of the Governor of Madras himself, confirmed also by the deliberate judgement of the Court of Directors, pronounced after a full investigation of the whole business, for saying; 'that whatever difference of opinion the dispute respecting the more remote or primary causes of the mutiny may have occasioned, there has always prevailed but one sentiment respecting the immediate causes of that event. These are on all hands admitted to have been certain military regulations, then recently introduced into the Madras army.' These regulations were, the ordering 'the sepoys to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern; and never to wear the distinguishing marks of caste, or earrings when in uniform,' and 'the ordering, for the use of the sepoys, a turban of a new pattern.'

"Such were the new regulations; and how were these obnoxious regulations enforced? How was the rising discontent treated which these changes began to produce? Was it by argument and persuasion, the only weapons in the Missionary armoury? The refractory non-commissioned officers were ordered to be reduced to the ranks; nineteen of the ringleaders (privates) were condemned to receive severe corporal punishment, and to be dismissed the Company's service, as turbulent and unworthy subjects; the greater part of these offenders, showing strong signs of contrition, were indeed forgiven; but the sentence was executed in front of the garrison on two of them, each receiving nine hundred lashes. Can we wonder at the sequel? Though the flame appeared for a while to be smothered and suppressed, the fire burned in secret with only the greater vehemence. Can we be surprised that secret oaths began to be administered, and secret engagements to be made? While to these religious discontents, combined with all those bad passions which raged the more violently because they durst not show themselves but raged in secret, was superadded a political cause of powerful efficiency. The adherents of the deposed sovereigns of Mysore, who were in custody in that part of the country, fanned the rising flame, and used every method for increasing the general discontent. For a time the volcano burnt inwardly, until at length, on the 10th of July, the fatal eruption took place, the dreadful circumstances of which are too well known to need enumeration. Can we wonder, sir, that such causes as I have stated should have produced such effects? That which may more justly excite our wonder is, that such discontents as these were so easily quieted. But so it was; for, though the obnoxious regulations, strange to say, being still persisted in, a repetition of mutinies, followed perhaps by the same dreadful consequences, appeared likely to ensue; yet no sooner were the offensive alterations abandoned, than all was order and obedience."

We are happy to produce the authority of Mr. Wilberforce to another opinion, to which we are warmly attached. "When we

are engaged in the prosecution of a worthy end, by just and wise means, difficulties and obstacles disappear as we proceed; and the phantoms, not to call them bugbears, of ignorance and error melt away before the light of truth." This is a principle of which the philanthropist should never lose sight. The effects of perseverance in a good cause are proved by very remarkable instances. Every step which is made in the diffusion of knowledge paves the way for improvement; and "the bugbears of ignorance and error," the prejudices by which improvement is opposed, gradually cease "to be cherished," and lose ground upon every attack.

Proceedings of the Glasgow Lancasterian Schools Society, at a Meeting held on the 31st of January 1814; with Illustrations and Remarks. Dedicated to the Lord Provost of Glasgow. By JOSEPH FOX, Secretary of the Institution for promoting the British System for the Education of the labouring and manufacturing Classes of every religious Persuasion.

THIS publication contains a detail of proceedings so interesting, that, though it pressed upon the day of our publication, and our pages were already provided for when it reached our hands, we cannot forbear making room for a short account of its occasion and contents.

The accidental presence of Mr. Fox in Scotland, on a business of a different import, suggested itself to the friends of education in that country, as a favourable opportunity for making fresh exertions to animate the cause. The name of that gentleman is well entitled to operate as a signal in the great work of extending instruction to the uninstructed; and we cannot but envy the feelings he must have experienced in finding his exertions so well prized, and so well seconded, by such men as those who have taken up the subject in Scotland.

"At a numerous and respectable Meeting of Gentlemen, held on the 31st January, in the Ball-Room of the Black Bull Inn, Glasgow, KIRKMAN FINLAY, Esq. M.P. Lord Provost of the City, was called to the Chair.

"The Chairman having requested Mr. R. Wardlaw, one of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Lancasterian Schools Society, to state the purpose for which the meeting had been convened, Mr. Ward-

law referred his Lordship and the gentlemen present to Mr. Joseph Fox, Secretary to the Institution in London for promoting the British System of Education. The meeting, Mr. Wardlaw stated, originated in a desire expressed by Mr. Fox, to have an opportunity, while in town, of conferring with the gentlemen of the Lancasterian Society, and others friendly to the education of the children of the poor, with a view to obtain their judgement on certain propositions connected with the more effectual advancement of this object in Scotland; and Mr. Fox, with his Lordship's permission, would now speak for himself."

Mr. Fox, being thus called upon, addressed the meeting; and while he congratulated them upon the exertions which they had made, and pointed out the mistakes they had committed, which, having impeded the prosperity of the work, had damped considerably the ardour of its supporters, he presented to their view the means of securing success, which were placed in their hands; and by a warm appeal to the importance of the object, and to the philanthropy of his hearers, endeavoured to animate them to still higher exertions. It appears that his exhortations were addressed to congenial minds; and that there is no danger of the intellects and morals, and along with these the usefulness and felicity, of the more numerous orders of our countrymen being abandoned to accident and ruin in the great city and district of Glasgow.

The following passage of the speech of Mr. Fox contains the account of the principal object which he endeavoured to effect for improving the state of the system in Scotland.

"Whilst I was detained in Edinburgh I took the opportunity of visiting the Lancasterian Schools, and several of the directors of the society by which those schools are supported. It was with great satisfaction I found those gentlemen most zealously affected to the cause of general instruction, and particularly desirous to keep their schools on the best possible footing. To this end, they requested me to leave for their guidance any suggestions which might occur to me. In regard to the schools themselves I had nothing to offer; they are in an excellent state of discipline. But, as I have ever felt anxious that the Lancasterian Schools should be open to the most neglected class of the community, I conceived it to be my duty to recommend a particular attention to the state of education amongst the *poor*.

"Some of the gentlemen with whom I conversed, expressed strong desires to have the British system introduced into other places, and were anxious to be informed concerning the best mode of proceeding. To accomplish this, I remarked that two things were requisite; the adaptation of the school-room to the plan of instruction, and the training of the schoolmaster in the practice of the system. Here difficulties presented themselves: first, the schoolmasters could

not leave their present charge to come to Edinburgh to be instructed; and, secondly, they were in want of information as to the proper mode of arranging the desks, &c. in fitting up the schools. To obviate these difficulties, and attain the object desired, it appeared to me only necessary that the society should have an officer to act as superintendent of schools;—not to be a local master of any school, but to be employed in inspecting and improving the discipline of the schools already formed, and be otherwise employed in the training of schoolmasters, and fitting up of school-rooms.—He might discharge many of these duties on the spot where the introduction of the system should be wanted. Thus, while observing the progress of the mechanical arrangements, and the organization of the scholars, the actual schoolmaster could be trained in his own school; and, as every change would be effected under his own eye, he would be made master of the theory and practice of the system in a better way than by any other method.

“The proposition for making this office, if a person competent to the task could be found, met with general approbation. And as the operations of such a superintendent would be applicable to Scotland generally, it became a measure of expediency that the Lancasterian Society in Glasgow should be consulted, in order that, by an union of design, the plan should be more completely carried into effect. A day having been appointed for the meeting of the Edinburgh Lancasterian School Society, and, in the interim, having occasion to visit Glasgow, I judged that I had an excellent opportunity of taking the sense of the society here on this proposition. In consequence, I took the liberty of requesting Mr. Wardlaw, one of your secretaries, to convene a meeting; which having received the assent of one of your vice-presidents, Mr. Newbiggin, I appear before you now, in order to take your opinion on certain measures, calculated, I hope, to establish and promote in this country a system of instruction, which only requires to be examined and understood, in order to insure its universal adoption.”

Numerous are the points in the speech, as well as in the notes by which it is illustrated, which we should have desired to offer to the notice of our readers. But this our limits prevent; and we pass immediately to what is of greatest importance, the resolutions which, upon the conclusion of his speech, the respectable assembly whom he addressed immediately and unanimously passed.

“I. That in common with the friends of the British System of Education residing in Edinburgh, this Meeting is of opinion, that every exertion should be made to increase the utility of the Lancasterian Schools established in this city, and render them fully applicable to the necessities of the poor and labouring classes of the community.

“II. That the Committee of the Glasgow Lancasterian Schools

Society be requested to take prompt measures for the improvement of the funds of the society, and also to make such inquiries throughout Glasgow and its vicinity, as shall serve most effectually to discover the number of children that are still in want of education.

" III. That it appears to this Meeting, that the Lancasterian System of Education would be greatly promoted in Scotland, by the appointment of an officer, whose duty should be, to train schoolmasters, to organize new schools, and to act generally as an inspector of schools already established ;—and that, with this view, the Edinburgh Lancasterian Schools Society is hereby invited to unite with the Society in Glasgow, in providing the requisite salary for such superintendent, and defraying the necessary expenses.

" On the motion of A. Newbiggin, Esq. one of the magistrates of the city, and vice-president of the Committee of the Glasgow Society, the thanks of the Meeting were unanimously given to Mr. Fox, for the zealous interest taken by him in the advancement of this good cause in general, and the prosperity of the Glasgow Schools in particular ; and for the animating address, and very interesting detail of facts delivered by him on this occasion.

" On the motion of Mr. Fox, the cordial thanks of the Meeting were given to the Lord Provost for having honoured it by his presence, and by his acceptance of the chair ; and for the propriety and ability with which he had directed its deliberations."

How much soever we applaud the adoption of this measure, and with what delight soever we contemplate its adoption, we cannot be surprised that an assembly of the leading gentlemen, who in such a city as Glasgow stand forward in the great work of beneficence, and in the most exquisite of all the works of beneficence, beneficence to the mind and to the character, should immediately see the importance of so obvious and so useful an expedient ; and should not hesitate a moment in the benevolent resolution of carrying it into effect. In truth, there was nothing about which there was room for debate and procrastination. If there was desire sincere for the end, there could be no doubt about either the utility or the practicability of the suggested means. Nothing remained, therefore, but to adopt them immediately. And the gentlemen of Glasgow acted at once like friends, and like enlightened and decided friends of the cause, when they passed the three resolutions which we have just perused.

We observe, by an advertisement prefixed, that " any profit arising from the sale of this pamphlet will be applied to the fund for the support of the superintendent of schools." And as its contents are so well calculated to interest the friends of education, we trust that the proceeds will add considerably to the means for effecting so important an improvement.

Facts interesting to Humanity.

A Society for the Protection of the Asiatic Sailors employed in the East India Trade, while in this Country. Instituted the 14th of February 1814.

ADDRESS.

THE general interest which had been excited in the early part of the year 1813, for ameliorating the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants of the British possessions in the East, subsequently drew the attention of several persons in London, to the condition of the natives of that country (who assist in navigating the ships employed in the East India trade) during their stay in this kingdom.

The emaciated appearance of many of these people, together with their general want of sufficient clothing, more particularly in the winter season, first excited apprehensions that there was a want of proper attention to their comfort. Inquiry therefore was made to ascertain the true state of the case, first in the neighbourhood where they usually reside. But after the most diligent investigation in this way, very little satisfactory information could be obtained, so that it was deemed expedient to hear what the Asiatics themselves had to say on the subject; when it was found that they uniformly agreed in stating several weighty and important grievances which they laboured under, but to whom to apply for relief they knew not; inso-much that it became a common expression among them, "*There is justice in our own country, but there is none in England.*"

At length circumstances combined to *prove* that something highly improper was practised towards them by some of their countrymen in authority among them. Two decent and exemplary Lascars having given information, tending to a full disclosure of their general treatment, to which they had also affixed their names, immediately on their return to the barracks spontaneously informed their Serang, or Boatswain, of the transaction, hoping thereby to please him; but he instantly ordered them to be stripped to their waists, their hands tied together to one end of a rope (the other being thrown over a beam in the room), by which their arms were extended over their heads, and they were beaten with a stick or cane on their bare bodies for a considerable time; they were then prohibited from quitting their barracks without leave. The next day the Serang ordered them to go and erase their names from the papers they had signed (which however they were not permitted to do); and he told them that unless this was done he would have them flogged to death. The following morning the Serang gave orders to his men to seize these two Lascars the moment they entered the premises, they having, through fear, absented themselves

during the night. Presently one of the men, who was very anxious to obtain something from his chest, ventured to return; but, before he entered the room, was observed by the Serang to be alone, who directed the Lascars not to take him till the other made his appearance, as he supposed he would soon follow, and then to chain them together; when he would affix a block, which he had that morning procured for the purpose, to draw them up as before, and give them another beating. The man having got what he wanted from his chest, and shutting down the lid, happened to cast his eyes behind another chest just by, when he saw the chain of a *shark's fish-hook* concealed; and, fearing it might be prepared for him, took the first favourable moment to leave the premises. Another of the Lascars soon followed, and confirmed his fears in reference to the use intended to be made of the chain. These men were then taken under the protection of this Society.

Afterwards, information was received, that prior to the above instance of oppression, a Lascar had been beaten in a similar manner by order of the same Serang; and although the punishment had then been inflicted about seventeen days, his back exhibited a dreadfully bruised and lacerated appearance. This man was directly placed under the care of a respectable medical gentleman by this Society; in the course of a few days he became very ill, from having lain so long on his chest on the bare boards in the barracks, as he could hardly endure the pain arising from his wounds when he lay on his back or on either side.

It is but justice to state, that the East India Company pay a very large sum annually for the support of these people; and that when, through some of the Directors, the Committee of Shipping were informed of the circumstances, they gave an order to two respectable persons who applied for it, with power to select a third, to visit the barracks at any time they might think proper. Accordingly, the next day they went, and saw four more Lascars who had been beaten in like manner; two of whom showed marks on their bodies of great cruelty, nearly resembling the case above mentioned. One Lascar was found in a lock-up room, with some straw; another hand-cuffed, and not allowed to leave the premises.

Once only after this the order admitted the bearer to visit the buildings. Since that, it has been uniformly resisted, on the ground, that, as the order particularly mentions two persons by name, who are to choose a third, therefore no third person can be admitted by that order, unless accompanied by the two whose names are inserted.

On the first of the present month recourse was had to another mode of inflicting punishment by the Serang already alluded to. On that day he ordered a Lascar to come to him at his lodgings, and at the same time sent for five more of his men. When assembled together, the door of the room was locked, a keg of spirituous liquor was then produced, from which the five Lascars were supplied, who

were then all ordered to knock or throw down their countryman, to keep him down, and to kick and beat him with their fists, which they did on most parts of his body, while at intervals the Serang handed each assailant a fresh supply of liquor, assuring them repeatedly that he had plenty of money to protect them in what they were doing. In consequence of this, the man was sore all over his body; but his face, and particularly one of his eyes, were in a most deplorable state; and ten days after the assault, there remained evident marks on his face of great cruelty.

Information has also been received from a person employed some time since in repairing the barracks, that he saw several Lascars tied together at one time to the pump which stands in the Barrack-yard; and in that situation he saw them beaten unmercifully; that one man in particular was materially injured by the beating which he received, and which, from the roof of the house, appeared to him to be inflicted by some kind of cane.

One morning in December last, nine men were found in the barracks dead on the floor, without bedding or bed-clothes. The next morning seven were found dead in a similar situation. This morning by ten o'clock, seven men were buried from the barracks, who were all living at seven o'clock the preceding evening, and between those hours were all found dead on the floors, having neither beds nor hammocks.

Having obtained clear proof of the existence of the facts herein stated, as well as of some others, whereby the comfort of this class of our fellow men and fellow subjects is materially affected, and not knowing that any provision is made by any other society for the protection of these strangers in the peaceable enjoyment of their privileges under British laws while in this kingdom, this Society, having had their feelings painfully excited by the investigation of their deplorable situation, and shocked with the many instances of oppression and cruelty practised upon them, are decidedly impressed with the necessity of reform in the administration of a system which admits of such, *almost*, intolerable hardships on the MANY THOUSANDS of their fellow creatures who annually come to, and for months remain in, this land of benevolence; and confidently anticipating a similar feeling in the hearts of those of their countrymen who will take the pains to inform themselves on this highly important subject, are resolved to endeavour to promote such inquiries as may best lead to a full development of these abuses, and to take measures to prevent their recurrence. They have accordingly adopted the above designation, and the following

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That, on considering the evidence produced to this Society, it appears that, notwithstanding the large sums of money which it is understood the East India Company annually pay for the support of the Asiatics brought here in their vessels, these people have been

hitherto subject to grievous hardships and abuse, to which they are, from their ignorance of the customs, manners, and language of this country, peculiarly liable.

2. That, for the purpose of ameliorating their condition, "A Society for the Protection of the Asiatic Sailors employed in the East India Trade, while in this Country," be formed.

3. That the business of this Society be conducted by a Committee, consisting of twenty-four Members, a Treasurer, and Secretary; and that three members form a quorum.

4. That no member of this Society shall receive any emolument from its transactions.

5. That subscriptions be received for the objects of this Society, by the Treasurer, Edward Forster, Esq., at the house of Sir John Lubbock, Bart. Lubbock, Forster, and Clarke; by the members of the Committee, and by the Secretary.

6. That no money be paid but by drafts signed in the Committee, by the Chairman, and two Members.

7. That four Sub-Committees be appointed (immediately on regular admission into the premises occupied by the Asiatic sailors being obtained) whose duty it shall be to visit the said premises in rotation, twice a week or oftener, and report the situation of the several compartments separately,—of the medical department,—of the food,—clothing,—and treatment,—and of the general deportment and conduct of the objects of the care of this Society.

8. That a Committee be annually chosen, and that three-fourths of the members who have most regularly attended the former Committee be reeligible.

9. That the Committee meet the first Wednesday in every month, at four precisely in the afternoon; Secretary to give notice of the place of meeting.

10. That any three members of the Committee, collectively, be empowered to call Special Meetings.

11. That the Treasurer and the Secretary be ex-officio members of the Committee.

12. That donors of ten guineas,—annual subscribers of one guinea,—and legatees paying bequests of 20*l.* or upwards, be members of this Society.

London, 14th of March, 1814.

LOAN BANKS FOR THE INDUSTRIOUS POOR.

In the last number of *THE PHILANTHROPIST*, pages 14 and 15, the writer seems to be of opinion that "frugality banks" might be made conducive to the accommodation of the industrious poor—who may have occasion, and sometimes very allowably, to borrow small sums of money—and expresses his wonder, "that in Great Britain, in which a want of charitable liberality is certainly not one of our faults, an undertaking (of the nature of a loan bank) calcu-

lated to save so much misery, should never have met with patronage and support."

This benevolent and intelligent writer, not appearing to be acquainted with a most useful philanthropic Institution established in Bath about nine years since, "for the Investigation and Relief of occasional Distress, the encouragement of Industry, and suppression of Vagrants, Street Beggars, and Impostors;" he is respectfully informed that a considerable branch of it embraces the very object that he appears so desirous of recommending.

This Society is composed of gentlemen who devote a great portion of time and labour to the service of the poor, to the infinite benefit of all orders of the community; and with a small capital of about 250*l.* have been enabled by repeated issuing of the sums repaid, to assist about 900 applicants with loans amounting to 2271*l.* free of interest.

PROPOSAL OF A PROVIDENT INSTITUTION AT BATH.

(Dr. Haygarth's Circular.)

Since 1806, on the benevolent recommendation of the Right Hon. Lady Isabella Douglas, some servants of this city have been enabled to place what small sums they could spare in safety, and at interest, on the credit of some very beneficent ladies and gentlemen, who are responsible for the fund as far as 2000*l.* The proceedings of this Society have been so successful as to suggest the advantages of enlarging the plan. In consequence of a requisition to the mayor for this purpose, he summoned a general assembly of the citizens and visitors of Bath by public advertisement on the 19th of March 1818; who appointed a numerous Committee, highly respectable in rank, talents, and benevolence, to devise the plan of a Provident Institution, which might enable the lower class of people in general to deposit their money safely and profitably.

On attentively considering this business, it soon appeared to be a very arduous task. There was no example to follow nor even to imitate. The wisest statesman had never yet devised such measures; though they manifestly would be very conducive to the comfort of a numerous part of the people, and to the prosperity of the whole nation. Nothing of this kind appears to have been successfully attempted where it was most likely to be found—in the excellent Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor—which contain an account of all the private associations that have been formed for their benefit, during many years, by the most benevolent and intelligent persons in the kingdom. In frequent conferences, for several weeks, the subject was discussed with an uncommon degree of perspicuous, argumentative, and even pathetic eloquence, perfect candour, and a zealous spirit of patriotism and philanthropy. At the meeting of the Committee on the 29th of March, the principles of this Proposal was

submitted to their consideration. In forming an Institution so new, so extensive, and unsupported by experience, some hesitation and doubts might be fairly and properly expected. This delay has afforded opportunities to consult many persons most eminent for political wisdom, and best qualified to foresee and obviate difficulties. As improved by more deliberate consideration and suggestions, it is hoped that the Proposal may merit and obtain, what is very desirable, unanimous approbation. Not a single fact nor reason has been adduced or alleged, which proved the following plan to be impracticable; neither during all these very free disquisitions of the Committee; nor since that time, by any one to whom it has been communicated.

REGULATIONS.

1. That deposits of shillings shall be received; but not to bear interest till they amount to 20s.

2. That each depositor of money in one or more even pounds shall become a stockholder, not in his own name, but under the trust and management of the Provident Institution.

3. That a donation of 5*l.* shall constitute a Member of the Provident Institution. He is never to have any profit, nor any further expense, after it shall be completely established.

4. That the Members shall select a Committee of 21; being 4 Trustees of Stock, 16 Managers, and "a Treasurer," who together shall appoint their successors on vacancies; and an Actuary.

6. That a table shall be calculated to determine how much stock in the public funds each deposit has purchased at the time when it was invested, according to the variations of the 5 per cents., from 80 to 110; with columns, showing what is the dividend upon the said stock; what is $\frac{1}{2}$ of the said dividend which may be reserved to pay expenses; and what are $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of the dividend which may be the depositor's annual income, reckoning from the next quarter-day. [See the annexed Table.]

6. That in a book kept for the purpose, the Actuary shall make an entry of the money deposited into the Provident Fund, in the presence of the person who brings it; and also upon a sheet of paper kept by the depositor.

7. That after the investment in the public funds, the Actuary shall give a

*Certificate to A. B. that he has deposited one pound, or ———; which, on the 25th of March 1813, was vested in the 5 per cents. when they were at 88; that it has purchased 1*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* Stock; and that the Income which he is to receive upon each pound in April 1814, and every future year, as long as it remains unsold, will be elevenpence; (or, if the Property Tax be paid, tenpence.)*

Signed,

Actuary.

8. That the payments of dividends once a year shall be indorsed upon the certificate; and that after the stock is sold, the depositor shall receive the current price of his stock in money, without any

expense ; at which time the certificate is to be given to the Actuary, and cancelled.

9. That on giving notice of 30 days to the Actuary, the depositor may have his stock sold whenever he wants his money. And when needful, money may be immediately advanced by the Actuary on the credit of this notice.

10. That the Actuary shall give sufficient security for the money he may receive and hold, till paid to the Treasurer or Depositors : that he have a salary some proportion to the quantity of the Provident Fund ; as 50/. certain up to 15000/. of deposits ; and in the same proportion for any larger fund. Other annual expenses have been estimated at 100/.

11. That, under the direction of the Managers, the Actuary shall receive all the deposits, and pay them to the Treasurer :—that the Treasurer shall immediately invest them in the 5 per cents. in the names of the four Trustees, and then deliver the receipts of the stock so transferred, as vouchers, to the Managers. That the Actuary pay to the depositors their yearly dividend, and also the price of their stock, when sold. That he keep a separate account of deposits and donations, and act as Secretary to the Committee.

12. That on a Requisition signed by three Managers to the said four Trustees, they shall be warranted to sell stock vested in their names.

13. That the Treasurer shall receive money for the stock sold by the said Trustees, and also the dividends as they become due, which he is to pay to the Actuary for the use of the depositors.

REMARKS.

The Provident Institution is intended to be founded upon this principle, that, after the expenses of the first establishment, it shall always maintain itself without either profit or loss. If we can reduce this principle to practice many will follow our example, and greater benefit may be expected from it to our country than from the most liberal charity.

In former copies of this sketch a regulation was proposed, that, *at first*, the privileges of the Provident Institution should be confined to persons who have an income of less than 60/. a year, in order to obtain their exemption from the property-tax. It never was the intention of Parliament to levy this tax upon poor people. The only question to be considered was, in what manner this regulation might be settled so as to enable Government to guard against fraud. When this point had been accomplished, it was then proposed to extend the privilege to families who had more than 60/. a year, because many of them would derive great, probably still greater benefit from the privilege of depositing their money in the Provident Fund. The advice and example of such depositors as neighbours and acquaintance would have the most persuasive and extensive influence upon people just below them ; so that though the deposits of labourers

and mechanics might begin slowly, yet they would increase progressively and permanently. But as difficulties have been suggested in regard to this exemption from the property-tax, for even the poorest people, at the commencement of the Institution, it may be the wisest method to defer this division of the fund into taxed and untaxed deposits till a future time. When the Institution is fairly established, it cannot be doubted that such encouragement will be given by government with or without the aid of Parliament, seconded by the universal voice of the nation, who would be shocked at the thought of taking the poor man's penny out of his 11*d.* However, this consideration cannot occasion any hesitation or delay of the business for a moment. Because very few depositors of small sums have at present any means whatever of safely disposing of their money so as to obtain any interest at all; whereas, in the Provident Fund, each pound will produce 10*d.* even after the property-tax has been deducted, being at the rate of 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for the hundred.

That in Bath and the surrounding parishes, small sums of money exist which might be deposited into the Provident Fund with very great advantage, is sufficiently manifest. How can a man who has 20*l.* and no more be able to dispose of it? If he buy stock in his own name, the expense of investment and management would leave little or nothing of the dividend to receive: or he may be tempted to lend it on bad security, to his utter ruin. Beset with these and many other difficulties, the 20*l.* is usually squandered away to no useful purpose, but often in a manner highly injurious to himself and family. To the lower class of people, in the present state of society, the utter impossibility of their usefully preserving money is so evident, that they can very seldom entertain a hope, and not often even a wish, to save what they could spare. How soon such hopes and wishes may be excited by the opportunity thus proposed cannot be determined.

At the commencement of the Institution it is obvious that the Fund would be smallest, and that the expense of management would be greatest, probably more than 150*l.* a year; but afterwards much less. Until fully established it will manifestly require the support of donations; but to what sum it would be very difficult to estimate. Numerous donors of 5*l.* each would be preferable to larger donations from a few. For the beneficial effects of the Institution would be much sooner and more extensively diffused by many members, each of them explaining its advantages to the circle of his acquaintance. Not only our citizens, but strangers of superior rank, knowledge, patriotism, and philanthropy, impressed with the great importance of our endeavours to better the condition of the inferior and middle ranks of people, have already, without any solicitation, offered to associate themselves with us as members. Many intelligent and benevolent visitors of Bath would probably wish to become members, and would then carry home with them the same beneficent spirit, so as to establish similar Provident Institutions in their

own neighbourhood. Might not this establishment safely commence with 30 donors, who would together contribute 150*l*.? Considerably more than this sum may be wanted; but it cannot be doubted that many others would feel great satisfaction, and even esteem it an honour, to become founders of the Provident Institutions which promise to produce such extensive benefits, both private and public, to our country.

A statesman of the most eminent abilities, particularly in the highest financial department of Government, to whom this printed paper was communicated, condescended to honour the proposal with his attention. He says, "I have not really been able to discover any objection to the Regulations suggested in the Prospectus, and conceive they would completely effect their purpose."—"It occurs to me, at first sight, that the deduction of $\frac{1}{3}$ proposed for the management, is more than the nature of it requires. In the event of its embracing considerable numbers, might not a deduction to $\frac{1}{5}$ be contemplated?" The deduction of $\frac{1}{3}$ was not suggested by calculation, but merely as an illustration of the principles here proposed. No calculation could be instituted upon any known facts, nor any probable conjecture. It will vary in nearly the inverse proportion to the magnitude of the Provident Fund. It appears to be very probable that such or even a greater advantage to the depositors might be expected. Variations in the two last columns, of Expense and of Income, in the annexed table, which may be easily and accurately estimated, will be required as the fund increases, and consequently diminishes the proportional expense for the management of each deposit. Both the column of Stock and the Column of Dividend will always remain as entered without any variation. The stockholder himself can see from the table what money his stock will bring him whenever he wishes to sell it.

If deposits were now invested in the funds, the depositor would receive a clear income of tenpence for each pound, as long as it remains there, whatever may be the price of stock in future. If the 5 per cents. be bought at 90, and should rise to 100, he might then sell out; so that for each deposit of 9*l*. he would receive 10*l*. in money. On the contrary, if the 5 per cents. shall be bought at 100*l*. and sold at 90*l*. then the deposit of 10*l*. would bring only 9*l*. The depositor must always receive a full explanation of these circumstances before he deposits his money. The 5 per cent. stock is preferable to any other, because it affords the best income, and is least liable to variation.

To depositors who can annually spare their dividends (with perhaps additions of some pounds) to be invested in stock, the Provident Institution offers the best and most convenient opportunity to improve all their savings by compound interest.

If the depositors be made stockholders, they will enjoy the best possible security. All the committee are responsible for the rectitude and fidelity of the proceedings of the Institution, but not one

of them will be exposed to any *hazardous* responsibility whatsoever. The expenses, as a joint concern, will be very moderate and economical.

The money of Friendly Societies might be placed in the Provident Institution to much greater advantage in many respects than upon any other security.

When a poor family becomes possessed of a sum of money, aware of many losses by trusting bad creditors, it is frequently kept at home. This circumstance cannot always be concealed, and often occasions the most horrid crimes; robbery, and sometimes murder. Such calamities would be entirely prevented in districts where a Provident Institution is completely established.

The improvidence occasioned by our poor laws is such, that a much larger number of paupers, in proportion to the population, oppress England than perhaps any other nation. It would be very difficult to calculate or even to conjecture how much this high proportion might be reduced by Provident Institutions. In districts where they possessed the unanimous good opinion of the neighbourhood, it must be very considerable; probably much more than, perhaps several times as much as the deposited fund. A temporary sickness or other emergency might compel a family to seek assistance from the parish, who, when they had submitted to this disgrace, would wish to continue constant or frequent pensioners for years. But had such a family at the time of distress been able to supply their wants out of their own Provident Fund, they might have preserved through life the honest pride of independence. In 1793, before the act for the encouragement of Friendly Societies, proposed by the Right Honourable George Rose, was passed, the number of subscribers was somewhat more than 40,000. According to the last parliamentary returns, they were nearly 800,000; that is, 20 times as many. This act, which was dictated by true patriotism and wisdom, has thus, during a period of 20 years, preserved a great many thousands in succession, from the disgraceful and wretched state of paupers. Such facts clearly prove how anxiously even the poorest people wish to maintain themselves and their offspring, whenever an opportunity is given them to gratify a desire so natural to all mankind.

Let us reflect upon the comfort, credit, and prosperity, that may probably be derived from our exertions, if they prove successful; not only to the lower, but to all other ranks of society; not only in this city and neighbourhood, but in many others, particularly manufacturing districts, following our example, in various parts of England; and not only in the present, but future generations; so that millions of families may have reason to bless the Provident Institution of Bath. 'On s'accoutume à l'amour du bien public, par l'espoir d'y contribuer.' *Mad. de Staël sur la Littérature*, ii. 7.

The proposer of a Provident Institution, by making every depositor a stockholder, has printed this paper in order to obtain the un-

reserved opinion of men accustomed to such speculations, and of superior understanding. He is desirous that every objection and difficulty that can be foreseen, should be freely explained; but always accompanied with advice in what manner they may best be obviated. He deprecates, however, any general accusations of a Provident Institution, by the summary condemnation of it, as an impracticable project. To support such an opinion, let facts and arguments be explicitly stated. When vague surmises and doubts are propagated, and in no tangible shape; when those who do not understand the principles of the Institution begin '*spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*,' very extensively injurious fears and suspicions will spread among that numerous depressed and worthy class of people whom it is our anxious wish to serve, and whom we purpose to encourage and enable to support themselves, by offering to all who may want that assistance, the means of preserving their money in safety and to profit. These truly valuable privileges, unfortunately for them, in the present state of society, they find utterly impracticable.—If these short and imperfect hints should suggest a better plan, he would acknowledge the communication of it as a still greater obligation.

If a Provident Institution can be devised, which shall merit and obtain the complete approbation of competent judges of such an arduous undertaking, there is great reason to believe that, from the benevolent spirit which animates our fellow-citizens, it would be fully and successfully accomplished at Bath.

On these considerations, such readers as condescend to honour this Proposal with their attention, are respectfully requested to *write* answers to the following

QUESTIONS.

1. If each depositor become a stockholder, will he not have the best possible security for his money?
2. With equal safety, can any and what means be devised to place small sums of money so profitably?
3. Would not all persons who have an income under 60*l.* a year, be advised and exhorted by every benevolent and intelligent neighbour and acquaintance who comprehends these advantages, to deposit all the money they can spare in the Provident Fund?

Your opinion, either in answers to these questions, or otherwise, is intended to be submitted to the consideration of the Committee appointed to form a Provident Institution at Bath, by their Chairman,

Sir HORACE MANN, Baronet.

Dr. Wilkinson, whose abilities as a philosopher and mathematician are well known, calculated, at the Proposer's request, the following Table:

TABLE.

	STOCK.	DIVIDEND.	EXPENSE. Deduct $\frac{1}{4}$ of Dividend.	INCOME. Remaining $\frac{3}{4}$ yearly paid to Depositors.
5 per Cent. Stocks, at } 80	1 5 0	0 1 3	0 0 3	0 1 0
	81 1 4 $9\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0
	82 1 4 $6\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$
	83 1 4 1	0 1 $2\frac{1}{2} +$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$
	84 1 3 $9\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$
	85 1 3 $6\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 2	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$
	86 1 3 3	0 1 $1\frac{1}{2} +$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 11
	87 1 2 $11\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 $1\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 11
	88 1 2 $8\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 $1\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 11
	89 1 2 $5\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 $1\frac{1}{2} +$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	90 1 2 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 $1\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	91 1 1 $10\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 1 +	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	92 1 1 $8\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 1	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	93 1 1 6	0 1 0 +	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	94 1 1 $3\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$
	95 1 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 10
	96 1 0 10	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 10
	97 1 0 $7\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 10
	98 1 0 $4\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0 +	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{4}$
	99 1 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0 +	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{4}$
	100 1 0 0	0 1 0	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{4}$
	101 0 19 $9\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$
	102 0 19 $7\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$
	103 0 19 5	0 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$
	104 0 19 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$
	105 0 19 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 9
	106 0 18 $10\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 9
	107 0 18 $8\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 11	0 0 2	0 0 9
	108 0 18 6	0 0 11	0 0 2	0 0 9
	109 0 18 4	0 0 11	0 0 2	0 0 9
	110 0 18 2	0 0 $10\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 2	0 0 $8\frac{1}{4}$

This interesting subject still remains under consideration.

Dr. Haygarth is sanguine in favour of the *Stock-holding scheme*, but nothing is determined.

PROVIDENT BANK

Instituted by a most respectable house who carry on an extensive Woollen Manufactory at Wellington in Somersetshire, of which we give the following Prospectus, received from a Correspondent at Bath :

To afford the labouring classes of Wellington and its vicinity an opportunity of securely laying up their little savings, and obtaining interest thereon, T. Fox and Sons propose to establish a Repository or Provident Bank, to receive weekly the smallest sums, as low as one shilling each, from all labourers of every description, who incline to pay it into their hands ; and that as soon as the deposits from any one person amount to the sum of *twenty shillings*, interest shall be allowed thereon, to commence at the ensuing quarter-day, at the rate of *five per cent. per annum*, or *one shilling per pound*, and so on for every twenty shillings added ; but that no interest be paid on any fractions or parts of a pound, nor for any fractions or parts of a quarter of a year.

T. Fox and Sons will appoint a suitable time, once in every week, to receive such monies, and will keep a regular account thereof with each individual. Every person who deposits money with them to be furnished with a book, in which such deposits shall be entered ; and every person intending to draw out money, if under twenty shillings, shall give one week's notice ;—if more than twenty shillings, and under five pounds, two week's notice ;—if more than five pounds, and under twenty pounds, four week's notice ;—if more than twenty pounds, and under fifty pounds, eight week's notice ;—if above fifty pounds, twelve week's notice ;—and the holders of said monies to have a like option of paying them off on giving similar notices for the same sums.

In offering this plan to the different classes of labourers, T. Fox and Sons have no other object in view than to promote and encourage among them a disposition to industry and œconomy, by affording the means of improving and increasing any, even the smallest savings they may have it in their power to make : and as such savings are always a proof of industry and care, those who make them will be considered as particularly deserving encouragement. T. Fox and Sons will be losers by allowing the aforesaid rate of interest on such small sums, and they expect no other compensation for the time and trouble attending this Institution than what may arise from a belief that they are rendering essential service to a numerous and valuable class of their fellow creatures.

Tonedale, 20th 1st Month, 1814.

SCHOOLS FOR THE POOR AT BATH.

Some allowance will perhaps be made for a sort of natural bias towards those things to which we have long been accustomed, espe-

cially if that bias relates to education. Although the writer of this article has taken an active part in establishing and promoting a school in this city on the *Lancasterian* system, (which goes on satisfactorily,) he is yet desirous of not confining to this Institution alone the little assistance he may be enabled to give to schools for the poor in general, if conducted on liberal, tolerant, or catholic principles.

It seems high time that the prejudices which have long obstructed the diffusion of knowledge should yield to a charitable disposition to judge favourably of all, and thereby the great work go forward, of emancipating the lower orders from the dominion of ignorance and its natural companion, vice. Schools for the poor, like the Bible Society, may be considered as a *common ground*, on which Christians of all denominations may meet without the sacrifice of their principles.

To the Bath and Bathforum Free School children of all religious persuasions are freely and impartially admitted. We have boys belonging to the Church of England and to the Church of Rome; Baptists, Methodists, and Independents, all harmoniously associating together; nor is any creed or catechism taught but amongst the former; conformity is not expected of the latter.

Although this school has had my principal attention, I have not withheld my mite from the support of others. I was lately invited by the secretaries to attend a quarterly meeting of the "*Bath Sunday School Union*," held at Argyle Chapel, when being highly gratified as well as edified by the reports made by the secretaries, I requested one of them to furnish me with the substance of what he had delivered to the meeting, which I would take the liberty of communicating to THE PHILANTHROPIST, in hopes that it may be thought worthy a place in that excellent Miscellany.

I was indeed struck with the harmony, the diligence, and commendable zeal which form a prominent feature in the conduct of the managers and assistants of this Institution, many of whom fill very humble but useful stations in life. The services of the teachers are all gratuitous, whereby they have a decided advantage over our Bathforum School in point of expenditure: the annual expense for educating boys in their "Sunday School Union" being estimated at two shillings each within this city, and sixpence only in the country!

I beg to refer to the following letter for other interesting particulars; and am respectfully, &c.

Bath, March 12, 1814.

SIR,

March 3, 1814, Stall Street, Bath.

By your desire I have sent the following account of the progress of the "*Bath Sunday School Union*," formed in this city in March last by the different denominations of dissenters; and having for its object the education of all the poor children in Bath and the neighbouring villages, who had not an opportunity of being taught at

other schools. Since that time sixteen new schools have been established, and two others have been revived and assisted at the following places:

Miles distant.	No. in each School.	Miles distant.	No. in each School.		
2 At	Batheaston	90	1½ At Weston	35	
11½	Castle Comb	90	5 Wellow	64	
7	Camnerton	70	7½ Radstoke	174	
3½	Combhay	42	12½ Sutton	160	
7	Doynton	108			
5	Hinton	67		In 18 Country Schools	1450
	Lyncomb & Widcomb	30		Independents	200
6	Marksbury	58		Baptists	150
3	Mitford	44		Lady Huntingdon	206
3	Monkton Comb	98		Methodists	412
4	Newton	62			
6½	Philips Norton	74		Total in the Union	2418
4	Stoke	102			
1½	Twerton	82			

In the above schools are several adults who seem very desirous of learning to read the Holy Scriptures.

Upwards of 70 young men, as teachers, have volunteered their services to instruct the poor children in these country schools, to which they go on foot, even to the greatest distance, which is 12½ miles, and return again in the evening, during the short days of winter, with cheerfulness and alacrity; nor is their zeal to be restrained. Since the commencement of the Union they have made about 900 visits to the different country schools, and have travelled unitedly 8000 miles.

And here it is but justice to observe, that the principal inhabitants of several of the abovementioned villages, although they had heretofore been too indifferent to the education of poor children, being now fully satisfied of the good effects of these schools, as well on the morals as the general conduct of those who are instructed therein, have evinced their friendly disposition by assisting and uniting in the views of this Institution. It having been found that many of the poor receiving parish pay, have brought up their children in idleness, filth, and ignorance; and for that, perhaps, for want of a little education, some families have continued paupers, or receivers of parish pay, for upwards of a century: to remove this evil in part, schools have been formed by the Union for the express purpose of teaching the children of *paupers*, in concurrence with the minister, churchwardens, and overseers of the same parishes.

By means of small subscriptions of pence, raised amongst the children in these schools, upwards of 1000 bibles and testaments have been circulated in Bath and the neighbouring villages since March last, which have been purchased at reduced prices of the Bath Auxiliary Bible Society.

Several thousands of books and religious tracts have also been circulated in these schools by means of the Union, which are lent or given as rewards for diligence and other good conduct. How great an advantage this to the numerous poor, as many of them could not heretofore read! No books of any kind were before to be found in their houses! But since their children have been taught to read, the parents are very desirous they should become subscribers for bibles, testaments, &c.

In several of these schools subscriptions have been received also for shoes, stockings, &c. to a great extent; and numbers of children, by being encouraged to save their halfpence and pence, (which would otherwise be spent in trifles,) have provided themselves with clothing.

It is two years and a half since the plan for receiving subscriptions, &c. in our school in Bath (the Wesleyan Methodists) was adopted, which amounts to about 3*l.* 10*s.* per month; but since that time we have had upwards of 600 subscribers for bibles, testaments, hymn books, and wearing apparel.

It is surprising to see the youth come forward with so much pleasure to deposit what they have been saving all the week; and it has been remarked, that by those subscriptions for wearing apparel, numbers of the lowest poor, that were formerly half-naked, are now decently clothed.

The *habit* of saving money is a great acquisition; and if the tide of extravagance and carelessness can but be removed from the minds of our rising youth, we may expect to see in another generation less misery and want: in consequence the poor-rates (which are now such a burden) will be greatly reduced, and the situation of our poor made much more comfortable.

In these schools, many boys and girls who are out of work, are provided with places of service according to their wants and capacities; in short, no boy or girl is permitted to come to these schools and live by begging or in idleness, but all are encouraged to work, and to fill up in the best manner they can that place in society whereunto Providence has called them.

In addition to a common education, these youth are favoured with a *religious* one: they are taught their duty to God, their masters, mistresses, to their superiors, and one towards another.

Some time ago I was invited by a lady to visit a Sunday school in the country which she had lately established; and as many of the parents of the children were very poor, and some aged, she introduced me to some of them. One old woman I saw was about 72 years of age: I asked her how she lived. She said the parish allowed her one shilling per week, and when she was pretty well, she earned 9*d.* 10*d.* or 1*s.* more at knitting. Being surprised with the simplicity of the method she made use of to live out of so small a sum, I asked her how she was provided with clothes? she said, pretty well. I told her she wanted a gown, &c. "Nay sir," she said, I

do not want a gown, as I have lately eked it out, and made it somewhat shorter." I thought the gown was very old, and asked her how long she had it. She said "thirty years last Trinity Sunday." These poor people appeared to me somewhat like the children of Israel while in the wilderness, "Whose garments did not wax old upon them for the space of forty years." Many others equally poor I found in the village; and saw the great necessity of a Sunday school to teach the children of such.

It is found by experience that a youth in these schools may be taught to read and write decently in the space of four years; and the expense attending such education in our Bath Sunday schools, is about 2s. per head per year: this expense is incurred by the rent of rooms, books, fire, cleaning, &c.; so that a boy or girl gets an education at the expense of the public for about 8s. But our country schools are attended with less expense, having, for the most part, places to teach in gratis; and the expense of education in these schools is about 6d. per head per year; so that in four years a youth will get an education in the country, within the "Bath Sunday School Union," for so small a sum as 2s.

It is the business of secretaries to meet the teachers of the Union every month, to draw up a plan for that time, which is printed on a card, and given to those engaged in the work.

And now, sir, before I conclude this imperfect sketch, allow me to express to you a humble hope which animates my mind, when I contemplate the immense improvement progressively going forward in the world, by means of Schools for the poor and Bible societies; I feel a hope that the day is fast approaching, when, according to the sure word of prophecy, "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

I remain, sir, yours very respectfully,

JOSEPH PEARSON.

PUNISHMENT OF DEATH.

It has been said, and said truly, that while we employ a terrific apparatus to punish crime, we are shamefully remiss in taking measures to prevent it. If any one doubts of the truth of this assertion, let him read over the Calendar of the criminals tried at the Old Bailey: he will there find, that no longer ago than Wednesday the 16th of February 1814, five children, the youngest eight, and the oldest twelve years of age, were condemned to death:—

Fowler, aged 12 years	} For a burglary in a dwelling-house.
Wolfe . . . 12	
Morris . . . 8 years	} For a burglary, and stealing a pair of shoes.
Solomons . . 9.	
Burrell . . 11	

On the next day, Thursday the 17th of February 1814,

Cook, aged 15 years }
Young . . . 13 }
Sandiford . 12 }
J. Thompson 12 }
B. Thompson 15 }

Were condemned to transportation
for stealing cheese from a shop.

Facts like these are surely an indication that something is radically wrong. Notwithstanding the severity of our laws, the daily newspapers are constantly giving evidence of multiplied atrocities; and it is now high time to inquire whether the system we have been pursuing is the best that could be devised for the prevention of crime and the protection of society.

In a country where free discussion is allowed, and where the thinking and most powerful part of the community possess a spirit of active benevolence, we may fairly expect that the progress of light and knowledge will expose and rectify the errors and defects of a darker period; will show that the antiquity of a custom is no proof of its being founded in wisdom, and that we have a right to profit by the experience of past ages.

In civil society no man lives for himself alone; the interest of every individual is implicated in the interest of the whole; and no member can suffer unjustly without injury to the body—every instance in which injustice is permitted is an infraction of the social compact—let these instances be multiplied to a certain extent, and that compact will be destroyed. Now if it can be proved, as it certainly may, that a vast proportion of the victims to our criminal laws have, through the neglect of society, been suffered to be trained from their very infancy in crime, while by very simple and practicable arrangements they might have been initiated in virtue, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion, that they have been unjustly dealt with; and that a heavy responsibility rests upon those who, having the power to save, have neglected to exert it.

It is greatly to be regretted that, in this highly favoured country, many who have the means of doing extensive good, are too apt to solace themselves with the enjoyments with which they are surrounded; and, being in possession of every outward gratification, please themselves with thinking that all is going on well; and that, if perchance any misery should exist, it is generally in consequence of something wrong in the conduct of the sufferer. Thus prosperity too often tends to harden the heart; and hence the necessity of those afflictive dispensations of Providence to which our nature is liable, to induce that degree of sympathy for others, which we feel so cordial when applied to ourselves.

Gentlemen of respectability and leisure might render most essential service to the cause of humanity, by visiting the prisons in their respective districts, and obtaining the most accurate information of such parts of the private history of persons capitally convicted, as might show whether they had been educated in crime from their infancy; and if not, by what means they had been introduced to

the paths of vice. It would be also desirable to know, how far they had ever been in the way of receiving moral instruction : a collection of such facts in the hands of a Romilly, might lead to efficient plans for the prevention of crime, and supersede the use of those sanguinary enactments, which award death for no less than 160 different offences.

It is with pleasure we announce the existence of an association in London, whose object is the "Diffusion of knowledge on the subject of the Punishment of Death and Prison Discipline." The gentlemen who compose this association, appear to have calculated upon the known good sense and humanity of their countrymen, in concluding that it is only necessary to give publicity to facts, in order to raise that general feeling which must naturally tend to produce a remedy for the evil;—they have employed themselves in collecting information from those active and benevolent characters who, like the great Howard, have searched into and revealed "the secrets of the prison-house:"—they have arranged the opinions of enlightened men of all ages on this important subject, and have already published the result in three octavo volumes, the expense of which is defrayed by a subscription. It is much to be wished that the friends to humanity in every part of the country would take the earliest opportunity of communicating to the chairman, Basil Montagu, of Lincoln's-Inn, every well attested fact upon this interesting subject.

IMPERFECTIONS IN THE LAW.

"On Tuesday last Charles Avenall, formerly a watchmaker at Portsea, stood in the pillory for the space of two hours, on the grand parade in Portsmouth. This man's punishment, if we may judge from the feelings of several thousand persons who were spectators of his disgrace, exceeded his crime, since (as in all such cases,) the degree of it excited compassion for him. His standing so long exposed, motionless, in a bleak piercing wind, so far checked the powers of life, that before the time had expired, animation was suspended in the limbs of his lower extremities; and there was a general desire to take him down. His crime was for informing against certain pawnbrokers of Portsmouth, for taking more interest upon pledges than the law allows, and then compromising or compounding the crime to his pecuniary advantage."—*Morning Chronicle*, March 23, 1814.

This is one, among the innumerable instances, to prove the imperfection of the pillory as an instrument of punishment, and the call for its abolition. It is unequal, to the last degree; as in the case of this unfortunate man who, had the day been mild, would have suffered little, as it was, sustained extreme torture. The accidental cruelty of this punishment is also to be compared with the lightness of the offence. A virtual compounding of offences, is performed by almost every body: by every body who, rather than incur the trouble and expense of prosecution, abstains from giving information against a depredator. One curious fact is, that by bribing the lawyers, any body may compound. A motion may be made in court, and is currently made, a motion of course, for leave to compound offences.—Pay a lawyer, and you may compound; compound without paying a lawyer, and you are liable to be frozen in the pillory till animation is suspended in your limbs. This is a strong expedient for securing the pay.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

No. XV.

Clarkson's Memoirs of William Penn.

[Continued from page 57.]

IN our last article upon this important subject, we were obliged to conclude, before it was in our power to notice the whole of the memorable circumstances, in one of the most memorable events in the history of England; we mean, the trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Old Bailey, for a tumultuous assembly, 22 Charles II. 1670.

After William Penn was haled into the bale-dock, which is called "a hole," and "a stinking hole," in the course of the trial, William Mead was brought forward. Objecting to the indictment, which he denominated a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehoods, affirming that he met with force and arms, &c.; "the Recorder interrupted him, and said, I thank you, sir, that you will tell me what the law is, scornfully pulling off his hat.—*Mead.* Thou mayest put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now."—He too, after some more altercation, was pushed into the bale-dock, and the jury were charged in absence of the prisoners, and without their being heard. After being inclosed for a considerable time, eight of the jury came into the court, as agreed upon a verdict of *Guilty*. Four remained above. They were brought down by an officer. The Recorder addressing himself to Bushel said, "Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance, and manifestly show yourself an *abettor of faction*; I shall set a mark upon you, sir." Observe, here, that whoever shows himself an enemy to misgovernment, is in all ages stigmatized as factious, by those who are interested in preventing reform. Alderman Robinson then said, "Mr. Bushel, I have known you near this 14 years; you have thrust yourself upon this jury, because you think there is some service for you: I tell you, you deserve to be indicted more than any man that hath been brought to the bar this day.—*Bushel.* No, Sir John, there were three score before me, and

I would willingly have got off, but could not.—*Alderman Bloodworth.* I said, when I saw Mr. Bushel, what I see is come to pass, for I knew he would never yield. Mr. Bushel, we know what you are.—*The Lord Mayor.* Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, I will put a mark upon you."

After a continuance of this behaviour, the jury were remitted for the consideration of their verdict. After a period they returned with a verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street," This was refused, as not a verdict; and they were ordered to reconsider the subject. They returned several times, adhering calmly to the same decision, and each time treated with increasing menaces and insults. The Recorder made the following memorable speech:

"Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them: and certainly, it will never be well with us, till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England."

In every age and country that has yet existed, there has been a large proportion of men of this description; men who, to increase their own power, or to curry favour with those whose power is increased, would pursue the enthralldom of their fellow creatures with all the eagerness of a violent passion. And society is only protected in proportion as it is able to resist those dangerous members of the community.

The firmness of the jury, and the obstinacy of the court, postponed the decision for two days and two nights, during which the jury received no refreshment. On the morning of the third day they produced a positive verdict of *Not Guilty*. The court, greatly enraged, and disregarding the enunciation made by the voice of the foreman, commanded the jury to answer to their names, and one by one to pronounce the verdict; which they did unanimously in the terms of the foreman; for which they were all imprisoned and fined.

In this transaction we have a most instructive proof of the important service which the resolution of a single man is sometimes capable of rendering to his country, or to his species. It was probably the firmness alone of Mr. Bushel, the man thus abused and threatened by the court, which animated the jury in this case to resist the whole weight of legal and magisterial authority, and all the consequences of the resentment of men in power, and to refuse to become partners in an act of injustice. The example which the spirit and determination of this admirable jury set to the whole nation, may be ranked high among the causes which prevented the councils of Charles and James the

Second, aided by such judges, such lord mayors, and such aldermen as the history of this trial exhibits to our view, from extinguishing the religious and civil liberties of England; and prepared the way for the Revolution, which was so important a step for securing what we had gained, and paving the way for gaining still more of the essential ingredients of good government.

Soon after this event, the father of William Penn, the admiral, now at a very advanced age, and suffering under a tedious illness, appeared verging towards his grave. In this situation, the resolution of his son to renounce the world, and his exclusive attachment to religion, presented themselves to his mind under a less repulsive form; and he evidently took great delight in his company and conversation. Mr. Clarkson repeats some of the last words of which he made use: "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world." It is sufficiently remarkable, that one, so much a man of the world, as the admiral, should speak with so much indifference, or rather with so much appearance of satisfaction, respecting the downfall of the priests. The foundation, however, on which they stood, was, we see, much more steadfast than what the admiral was led to imagine; and in the world, as it then existed, plain preaching and plain living were not calculated to produce very rapid effects. As the intelligence, however, of the world increases, these, with all other things, will by degrees assume their proper level, and be estimated at their real value. Let us only attend sufficiently to the business of education; and then whatever is best will be seen to be best; and that which is inferior will be either improved or taken away.

The death of his father placed him in possession of a fortune, at that time opulent, of 1500*l.* a year; and his first leisure was employed in presenting, for the edification of his countrymen and of all their posterity, the impressive history of his trial. The very title which he bestowed upon it will demonstrate the important views with which it was published, and how little his mind was subdued, or warped from its virtuous purposes, by the severities which he had endured, or the resentments of power, which, by so bold a vindication of his own and his country's freedom, he was sure to excite. It was entitled as follows: "The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted, in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey, in London, on the first, third, fourth, and fifth of September, 1670, against the most arbitrary Procedure of that Court."

He was shortly afterwards imprisoned in Newgate, for refusing

to take the oath of allegiance ; where, as usual, he employed his pen with redoubled diligence. He composed addresses to the High Court of Parliament, to the Sheriffs of London, to a Roman Catholic ; " A cautionary Postscript to Truth exalted ;" " Truth rescued from Imposture ;" " A serious Apology for the Principles and Practice of the Quakers ;" and " The great Case of Liberty of Conscience debated and defended." This last began with an address " To the Supreme Authority of England," which is so admirable both in the sense and expression, that as it is short we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of perusing it.

" *Toleration* for these ten years past has not been more the cry of some, than *Persecution* has been the practice of others, though not on grounds equally rational.

" The present cause of this address is to solicit a conversion of that power to our relief, which hitherto has been employed to our depression ; that after this large experience of our innocence and long since expired apprenticeship of cruel sufferings you will be pleased to cancel all our bonds, and give us a possession of those freedoms to which we are entitled by *English birth-right*.

" This has been often promised to us, and we as earnestly have expected the performance ; but to this time we labour under the unspeakable pressure of nasty prisons, and daily confiscation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of entire families.

" We would not attribute the whole of this severity to malice, since not a little share may justly be ascribed to misintelligence.

" For it is the infelicity of governours to see and hear by the eyes and ears of other men ; which is equally unhappy for the people.

" And we are bold to say, that suppositions and mere conjectures have been the best measures that most have taken of us and of our principles ; for, whilst there have been none more inoffensive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

" 'Tis hard that we should always lie under this undeserved imputation, and, which is worse, be persecuted as such without the liberty of a just defence.

" In short, if you are apprehensive that our principles are inconsistent with the civil government, grant us a free conference about the points in question, and let us know what are those laws essential to preservation that our opinions carry an opposition to : and if, upon a due inquiry, we are found so heterodox as represented, it will be then but time enough to inflict these heavy penalties upon us.

" And as this medium seems the fairest and most reasonable, so can you never do yourselves greater justice either in the vindication of your proceedings against us, if we be criminal, or, if innocent, in disengaging your service of such as have been the authors of so much misinformation.

" But could we once obtain the favour of such debate, we doubt

not to evince a clear consistency of our life and doctrine with the English Government; and that an indulging of Dissenters in the sense defended is not only most christian and rational, but prudent also; and the contrary, however plausibly insinuated, the most injurious to the peace, and destructive of that discreet balance which the best and wisest states have ever carefully observed.

"But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you on which to rest its foot, much less that it should bring us back the olive-branch of *Toleration*, we heartily embrace and bless the Providence of God, and in his strength resolve by patience to out-weary persecution, and by our constant sufferings seek to obtain a victory more glorious than any our adversaries can achieve by all their cruelties."

After the termination of his imprisonment, he travelled for the propagation of his faith during some months in Holland and Germany, and upon his return married the daughter of Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex, who had fallen in the civil wars, in opposition to the king. For several years from this date, he laboured zealously in the defence and propagation of his opinions, without any other remarkable occurrence, than the quantity of labour which he underwent, and the number of the publications which he sent forth.

About the year 1676, however, an incident occurred, which is memorable not only in the history of Penn, but in the history of the world. Lord Berkeley, who was joint proprietor with Sir George Carteret, of the colony of New Jersey, in North America, sold his share to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge. A dispute arising between Fenwick and Byllinge, it was referred to the arbitration of Penn, and with much pains and difficulty adjusted. But the funds of Byllinge proving inadequate to his enterprises, he was constrained to deliver over his American property in trust to his creditors; and by earnest entreaty prevailed upon William Penn to unite with two of his principal creditors in the trust. This undertaking immediately brought upon Penn a vast and complicated load of business; but he entered upon the performance like a man who commences at the foundation; and by looking out for those comprehensive regulations which put every thing at once in its proper place, and on its proper footing, he adopted the true course both for accomplishing the purpose well, and accomplishing it most easily. The first step was to agree with Sir George Carteret about a division of the province. The eastern part, which was already considerably peopled, it was requisite to give up to Sir George; and to content themselves on the part of Byllinge with the western, in which no settlements had as yet been made.

When this arrangement was completed, Penn, and his partners in the trust, divided their own portion into one hundred lots. Of these they gave ten to Fenwick, as a compensation for the money, time, and labour, which he had expended in this concern. The other ninety were to be exposed to sale, for the benefit of Byllinge and his creditors. But for the future inhabitants a scheme of government, or a code of laws for the regulation of their joint concerns, and for the peace and protection of the community, was required. The task of legislation fell upon William Penn, and the first draught of a form of government which he drew is well calculated to put to shame all that legislators had done before him; and shows, how directly, good sense might go to the real causes of human happiness, if that happiness were always the real and true motive of action.

1. The people were to meet *annually* to choose managers, or representatives.

2. Every man was to be capable both of choosing and of being chosen,

3. One was to be chosen for each proprietor who had signed the constitution.

4. The representatives chosen were to sit in assembly; and there to make, alter, and repeal laws; there also to choose a governor, with twelve assistants, who were to execute the laws, but only during the pleasure of the assembly.

5. No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood.

6. No man was to be imprisoned for debt; but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty to work again for himself and family.

7. No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion.

"By these regulations" Penn expressed his hope "that he had laid a foundation for those in after ages to understand their liberty, both as men and christians, and by an adherence to which they could never be brought into bondage but by their own consent."—Seldom has a man been found who understood the value of liberty better than Penn, and who perceived more clearly and certainly what was necessary for securing it. There is a sober majesty in these few expressions, which, considering the magnitude of the benefits to which they relate, and the excellence of the provisions made for securing them, can hardly fail to make an impression upon every mind.

In the details of his management in New Jersey, or of his labours in preaching and writing in behalf of his religion, labours in-

cessant, vigorous, and judicious, it is not our intention to follow him. It would lead us into a field too extensive for the present occasion. In these labours, however, one feature is peculiarly conspicuous, and peculiarly worthy of being held up to applause and imitation, his zealous advocacy at all times, and in favour of all parties, Jew and Gentile, Believer and Unbeliever, Protestant and Catholic, of the principles of freedom, and of the inconsistency, as well as cruelty and injustice, of attempting to operate upon men's belief by the loss of worldly goods, or by bodily pains; of rewarding them on account of their belief, or punishing them on account of their belief; of loving them or hating them on account of their belief; seeing that with his neighbour's belief no man has, or can have, any just ground to interfere; because, from all the affairs of this life, from all the relations in which man stands connected with man, and is either useful or hurtful, agreeable or the contrary, his belief stands distinguished. If it be objected to these liberal and manly conclusions of Penn, that belief has an effect upon action, and is for that reason not indifferent to the affairs of this life; it is granted. But what is the consequence? Not a conclusion, surely, extending far beyond the premises. If it is only on account of its operation upon *conduct*, upon a man's behaviour in life, that it is just for any man to interfere with another man's belief, and to permit himself either to love or to hate him on account of it; it is not just for him to pass beyond the evidence of that conduct; and to let the idea of his belief, merely as belief, to procreate within him toward that man sentiments different in any respect from what his conduct would otherwise produce, from what the conduct of any other man, of any other belief, would produce. If led by supposed religious motives we go beyond this line, we enter upon a province which is not our own; we enter upon ground which lies solely between a man's conscience and himself; for his conduct upon which, being all interior, he is only answerable to *Him* that seeth the interior; and interfere with a jurisdiction which the Supreme Judge has reserved entirely to himself.

This we consider as an irrefragable answer to all the objections which can be brought against the unbounded extent of the *toleration* which was advocated by Penn. It must be a *toleration* of the *mind*; in that his conclusions were just and profound, otherwise it will not long be a toleration of conduct. Actions are the natural consequences of thoughts; and if the thoughts are not benevolent, neither will be the actions. If we permit not ourselves to love a man because we dissent from his belief, we shall not be very alert in performing towards him the actions

of love; and if we treat him with unfavourable partiality, so far we persecute him on account of his belief. If we treat him with one degree of injustice, there is the same reason for treating him with any other, and there is no point at which we can consistently stop. To every stage of the baneful process, the early as well as the late, the same arguments exactly apply. If on account of his belief we can justly shut against a man the gates of our best affections, when his conduct would otherwise deserve them, why should we not sanction the proceedings of the Inquisition itself?

This is a ground upon which few men, as yet, think consistently. In few men is the *mind* purely and genuinely tolerant, even among those who are sincere and able defenders of the ordinary doctrine of toleration. It is wonderful how much before his age, in the true sentiments both of religious and civil liberty, the mind of Penn proceeded. The present age, however, is making rapid advances in the principles even of *mental* toleration. Even among those sects whose affections are the most contracted, the attentive observer may perceive a growing expansion. How much the affections of mankind will be improved towards one another when this great cause of malignity is taken away, need not be mentioned; nor the improvement in the benevolence of their conduct which must flow from the improvement in the benevolence of their minds. On this account, too, how earnestly have we to desire the propagation of knowledge, and of what is essential to it, the diffusion and improvement of education!

In 1679 he put forth "An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions upon the present Conjuncture, more especially to the Magistracy and Clergy, for the Promotion of Virtue." It was divided into two great heads, the *immoralities* and the *errors* of the times. Of the first article under the latter head, Mr. Clarkson renders the following account:

"The first great and prominent error was that of *making opinions articles of faith, and of making them at the same time the bond of Christian communion*. By opinions he meant propositions formed by men from their own interpretation of the Scriptures, but which were neither expressly laid down in Scripture, nor yet often well deducible from it; that is, not so evidently deducible from it, as not to be doubtful to many who were yet sincere believers of the text. These propositions, he said, were expressed, not in the language of Scripture, but often in the sophistical terms of the schools, so that they were frequently unintelligible, and became therefore a bone of contention to many, and unhappily according as men re-

ceived or denied them they were honoured or disgraced. Here he noticed, among other things, the great noise which had been made about the Greek word *Episcopos*. He who maintained that it signified a higher office than the Greek word *Presbuteros*, was to have no fellowship with one party; and he who maintained the contrary, was considered as a degrader of episcopal dignity, and was to be punished by the other. From hence he passed to the divisions, heats, and animosities, which the debates about free will, election, and reprobation had produced in the kingdom. Under Archbishop Abbot one set of ideas had prevailed upon these subjects, and under Archbishop Laud another, so that men had been reputed heretics in turn, and fit only for excommunication as they received the one or the other. He proceeded then to the Synod of Dort; then to the flame kindled in Holland between Arminius and *Episcopius* for the Remonstrants, and Gomarus, Sibrandus, and others, for the Predestinarians; then to disputes about Easter Day, as if men's eternal happiness had been involved in this question; then to the tragical story of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Arius his priest; and then to the anathemas, banishments, wars, and bloodshed, which followed upon the question, whether the Greek word *Homousia* or *Homolousia* should be received for faith. Among the observations made upon some of the foregoing points, I shall notice the following:—‘We must do violence to our understandings, if we can think that the men *who hated their brethren and shed one another's blood*, could be *true followers* of that Jesus who loved his enemies, and gave his blood for the world.’—‘But how easily might all these confusions have been prevented, if men's faith about Christ had been delivered in the words of Scripture, since all sides pretend to believe the text? And why should any man presume to be wiser or plainer in matters of faith than the holy Spirit?’—‘Are not things come to a sad pass, that to refuse any other terms of expression than those which the holy Spirit hath given us, and which are confessed to be the rule or form of sound words, is to expose a man to the censure of being unsound in the faith, and unfit for the Christian communion? Will nothing do but man's comment instead of God's text? or man's consequences and conclusions in the room of sacred revelation?’—‘All this while (says he) the head is set at work, not the heart; and that which Christ most insisted upon is least concerned in this sort of faith and Christianity, and that is *keeping his commandments*; for it is *opinion*, not *obedience*, it is *notion*, not *regeneration*, which some men pursue. This kind of religion leaves them *as bad as it finds them*, and *worse*, for they have something more to be proud of. Here is a creed indeed, but of what? of the conclusions of men. But what to do? to prove that they believe in Christ, who it seems never made them. It had been happy for the world, if there had been no other creeds than what Christ and his apostles gave and left; and it is not the

least argument against their being needful to Christian communion, that Christ and his apostles did not think so, who were not wanting to declare the whole counsel of God to the Church."

After giving a short account of the second article, Mr. Clarkson says,

"The third great and prominent error was that of *debasing the true value of morality, under the pretence of higher things*. It was the custom, he said, to *decry men of moral lives*, even those who feared God and worked righteousness, *because they were not of a particular faith*. Such men were considered as mere general believers. Their faith was thought not to be properly circumscribed, but to be too much at large. He inveighed against this custom. He ridiculed the notion that a man who repeated his creed by heart was sure of being within the pale of salvation, however profane his life, while another was denied and esteemed dead, whose life was upright, if he happened not to be so well skilled in what may be called the mysteries of the Christian religion. They who maintained this notion denied in fact that morality was a part of Christianity, or that virtue had any claim to grace. They mistook one of the great ends of Christ's coming, which was, as St. Paul to the Romans says, to deliver from actual sinning, and to give newness of life to the souls of men; or, as the same apostle to Titus has it, to redeem men from all iniquity."

The election of the new parliament during the heats of the Popish plot summoned the attention of William Penn, who well perceived the importance to mankind of good government, and understood so much better than almost any of his contemporaries what was necessary to its formation. He produced a tract, entitled "England's great Interest in the Choice of a new Parliament. Dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors."

"He proposed," says Mr. Clarkson, "first, to pursue the discovery and punishment of the Popish plot; to remove and to bring to justice those evil counsellors and *corrupt and arbitrary ministers of state*, who had been so industrious in *advising the king to wrong measures*, and in alienating his affections from his people; to detect and punish the pensioners of the former parliament, such a breach of trust on their part *being treason against the fundamental constitution of the Government*; to secure to the nation the execution of its ancient laws by others, among which should be one in *favour of frequent parliaments*, this being the *only true check upon arbitrary ministers*, and therefore a measure which they always feared, hated, and opposed; and to secure the people from popery and slavery, and to ease all protestant dissenters. He was of opinion that the king ought to be eased of his burthensome debts, in case these terms were complied with. He explained, secondly, to the

electors the meaning of the words in the writs then issued. He laid before them their great fundamental rights and privileges, and then gave them his advice as to whom they ought both to choose and to reject. He would have no reputed pensioners, no officers at court, whose employment was at will or pleasure, no indigent, or ambitious, or prodigal, or voluptuous persons elected. He would have the old members returned only according to their former upright way of voting. Sincere protestants he recommended as essentially necessary, and he hoped they would fix their choice upon men of large and liberal principles, and such as would not rob their other protestant brethren because they happened to differ from them in the doctrinal parts of the Christian religion."

The succeeding passage, in the work of Mr. Clarkson, relating to an incident in the life of Penn which has in it something peculiar, and not a little instructive, it is proper to insert.

"Soon after the publication of this work the elections began: and here it will be proper to observe, that the Quakers from particular scruples do not interfere in matters of this sort either as eagerly or as frequently as other people. Some of them indeed do not even use their elective franchise at all. William Penn partook in some degree of the same scruples, and perhaps would have been satisfied with writing the pamphlet just mentioned, had there not been one man in the kingdom about whom he could not be indifferent at this crisis. This was the great Algernon Sidney. He had been acquainted with this distinguished person for some time, and had loved his character. Indeed in this very year he had acted in a case between him and Osgood, Mead, and Roberts. But now that the elections were begun, he could not control the wish he had to do him service in a department where he believed his free spirit and noble talents would be attended with good to his country. Accordingly he went to Guildford, where Colonel Sidney was then a candidate against Dalmahoy, who was one of the court party. He procured him there several votes among those of his own religious profession. He accompanied him also to the hustings, where he interested himself with others. While in the act of encouraging these he was stopped by the Recorder, who, in order to make him odious, branded him publicly with the name of *Jesuit*. The latter, finding this attempt ineffectual, would have tendered him oaths, but that it was shown that it was then illegal so to do. Disappointed therefore in all his expectations, the Recorder had no resource left him but that of force, and using this he actually turned him out of court.

"Though Colonel Sidney had a majority of voices, Dalmahoy was returned. The plea was, that the colonel was not a freeman of Guildford."

We shall now pass over the minor incidents of his intervening

life, to come to that great and distinguishing transaction, his acquisition and settlement of the province of Pennsylvania. The business which he had been called upon to transact in regard to New Jersey, had brought him more intimately acquainted with the means which were afforded for the enlargement of human happiness in the new world; and the continued and harassing persecutions to which the Society, of his own persuasion, were exposed in England filled his heart with grief, and made him contemplate with delight the security and happiness which they might enjoy in a land of their own. Circumstances were accidentally favourable to the realising of his schemes. Pecuniary accounts, to a considerable amount, remained to be settled with him by the Government, on the score of moneys due to his father. The Government was not in a situation to make pecuniary payments without difficulty and regret. Unoccupied land in America, which produced nothing, was much more likely to be granted. From this train of circumstances it was that, not without some delays and obstructions, Penn was made proprietor of Pennsylvania, and furnished with a charter which conveyed to him, with very slight limitations, the whole sovereign power in the country.

The steps which were pursued for peopling the country, having nothing in them peculiar, or fraught with any important instruction, we shall omit. It is the legislation which was adopted for this new colony, the scheme of government which was framed, and the laws which were enacted, that constitute the grand subject of consideration, both for the merits which they display, and the defects which still may be found in them. As it is not by any means our intention to carry our readers into the field of political discussion, or the examination of the principles of government, so it is highly necessary not to pass over this remarkable portion of the life and actions of Penn, that portion which most peculiarly distinguishes him from almost all other men.

It appears that in forming the constitution of government by which his new colony might best be enabled to attain the prosperity and happiness which he destined for it, he was to a considerable degree disturbed by the objections with which he expected it to be encountered; and was warped a little aside, in order to accommodate himself to the views of others, from that direct and simple line in which he proceeded to lay the foundations of good government in the constitution which he sketched for New Jersey. In a discourse, which he added by way of preface to the "Frame of Government" which he designed for

Pennsylvania, after some general observations on the necessity for government which was laid in the vices of man, though its functions were not necessarily restrained to those which were repressive, he proceeds to mention the difficulties which, from the varying sentiments of men, attended the proposal of any particular form.

"For particular frames and models," says he, "it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are, first, that the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true they seem to agree in the end, to wit, happiness, but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason; and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

"Secondly, I do not find a model in the world; *that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.*

"Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: *any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.*"

The pith and marrow of the doctrine consists, and is evidently intended to consist, in the last sentence, in which it is declared, that either a *monarchy*, an *aristocracy*, or a *democracy*, may be a good government,—under two provisos; 1st, that the laws rule; 2dly, that the people be a party to those laws. There is good sense involved in the expression; but it requires development. Otherwise it might be supposed to coincide with the doctrine which Pope promulgated in the following well-known verses:

"For forms of government let fools contest—
The best administer'd is always best."

Now, if that be here understood, which is really the fact, that no government can be well administered except a good one, and that the difference in point of goodness between one government and another consists in this, that the one ensures good administration, the other not, the proposition is true indeed; but only nugatory, for it only means that the best government is always best.

If, on the other hand, the import be, that any one government has an equal chance to be well administered with any other, no proposition can be more evidently false; at the same time that to its falsehood it adds mischievousness in an extraordinary degree. And such is the case with too many of the pointed sayings of poetry; they are nugatory in any good sense, and only efficient in a bad one.

The expression of William Penn, however, is too well guarded, we think, to admit of abuse, or of any injurious application. It is the first condition of a good government, in his mind, that the *laws rule*. Now this is a figurative expression. The law is a dead letter, and cannot rule. *Men* alone can rule. What is meant, therefore, when it is said that the *laws rule*, is only this, that men rule according to the laws. Less, too, cannot be meant, than a sufficient *necessity* upon the rulers to govern according to law. If it is optional with them, and they may govern according to law, or not according to law, as they please, in that case it is evident that the laws do *not* rule. For the laws to rule, it is evidently indispensable that there be a *necessity* upon the rulers to rule according to the laws.

Then comes the grand question, *What is that necessity?* Wherein does it, or wherein can it, consist? There is no necessity upon the actions of men, but either from the hand of nature, or from one another. It is evident that there is no necessity from the hand of nature upon rulers to act according to the laws. The only necessity then must arise from the actions of men. It thus follows, that to make the laws rule, the rulers must of necessity be under the coercion, and the efficient coercion, of some other body of men. And that, it is also evident, must be a body of men who have a preponderating interest, and cannot be made not to have a preponderating interest, in the exact execution of the laws. As this is a very *certain* conclusion, which will not be denied, so it is also a very *important* conclusion, which will be as universally admitted. The clear deduction of reason is, that for the laws to rule, the rulers must be under check and control; they must in fact be *obliged* to act, not as they themselves choose, but as some other men choose; viz. the controlling and checking body. That the controlling body may be able to oblige the rulers to act according to the laws, and to prevent them from acting *not* according to the laws, it is necessary that the power of the controlling body should be superior to the power of the rulers; otherwise they may obey or not as they please.

But to compose this controlling body is wanted a set of men who have a preponderating interest, and who cannot be made

not to have a preponderating interest, in the execution of the laws, meaning always good laws. And where are they to be found? What body of men are they who neither have nor can be made to have an interest different from the great body of the community? It is evident that there is no body of men whatever who answer to this condition but the general body of the community themselves. Take any portion of this community whatsoever, and it is evidently their interest to render the benefit of the rest subservient to their own; to appropriate to themselves as much as possible of the good things of the rest, and to impose upon the rest, for the relief of themselves, as much as possible of the common burthens. The whole body of the community, then, must be the controlling body. This is recognised by the British constitution; according to which, an efficient and preponderating share in making, and even in executing the laws, purports to be reserved to the great body of the people; both by the declared necessity of their consent to every law, and by their possessing the sole right of granting the revenue; a power which, if completely enjoyed, places the rulers fully under their authority.

Having thus seen what is the meaning of the political maxim, *That the laws must rule*, which is neither more nor less than that the people must rule; we come now to the second of the conditions laid down by William Penn for the establishment of good government; which is, *That the people be a party to the laws*.

About this point, unless among those who, having interests reposing on bad governments or bad men, will utter and contend for any sentiments, we believe there is no dispute. We believe it is universally allowed among those whose opinions can by any means be supposed to draw their origin from reason, that unless the people have a share in the making of laws, laws will be made which sacrifice the interests of the people to the supposed interests of the rulers; that is, bad laws; laws having a tendency to make the people slaves, and the rulers despots.

It is for this reason, and for this reason alone, that the share which is reserved for the people of England in the making of laws, by that law of the constitution which renders their consent necessary to the enactment of every law, and confers upon them the power of proposing and discussing whatever they deem expedient to be made law, is entitled to praise. If this reason did not exist, to make the people any branch of the legislature would be an evil rather than a good, by rendering the government less simple in its structure, and less direct in its motions. If the interests of the people would be as well taken care of by kings and

nobles as by themselves, there would be no use whatsoever for a House of Commons. But it is universally allowed that there is unspeakable utility in a House of Commons. It is universally allowed, that the only circumstance which makes the English government differ from the worst governments in Europe, the government of Spain, for example, or that of Austria or Russia, is the House of Commons. If this, however, be the case, it follows as the universal acknowledgement, that kings and nobles, if they alone had the making of laws, would not make laws for the benefit of the people; would make laws for their own benefit at the expense of the people; would make laws enabling themselves to deal with the people and their interests as they pleased.

This clear inference of reason, from which men may very well turn their attention, but which they cannot controvert, implies nothing invidious with regard to kings and nobles as orders of men. Take any minor portion of the people themselves, and give to them the power of making laws for the rest, and they will act the very same part which would be acted by kings and nobles; that is to say, they will make laws for their own benefit at the expense of the rest. This effect arises from the fundamental principles of human nature; and is unavoidable. It never ought to be disguised. The grand problem of legislation is, not to get rid of it; for that is impossible; but to find the means of counteracting it. And the more steadily it is kept in view, the more carefully it is held present to the memory in all legislative proceedings, the more excellent is the legislation likely to be. The principle from which it arises is the universally acknowledged fact, that man loves himself better than any other body. As this is a principle inseparable from human nature, indeed necessary for the well-being, nay, for the preservation of the species; and as it is the grand, overruling spring in man's constitution, every legislative act which is not founded upon it ~~must be fundamentally wrong~~. Upon this principle it is that the utility is founded of giving a share to the people, that is, to the body of the community, in the making of laws. Because, from this undeniable tendency of human nature it is certain, absolutely certain, that without a share in the making of the laws, the interests of the body of the community will be sacrificed through the laws.

The soundness, then, of the doctrine of Penn, that to the existence of good laws, the participation of the people in the framing of them is a requisite indispensable, is easily perceived, and impossible to be controverted. This, however, is not sufficient. This brings us not to any definite, that is, to any pra-

tical conclusion. So long as we merely say, the people must have a share in legislation, without saying how *much* of a share; no line is drawn for a boundary of conduct. To say that any man, or any men, ought to act, where no indication is given of what they ought to attempt, hardly differs, except in evil, from telling them wrongfully that they ought to sit still. Penn endeavoured to lay down no general rule upon this subject. He proceeded not so far as to start the question. He made his law, the law which determined the share which the people were to have in the making of laws, in the particular instance for which he was providing, without pointing to any principles which guided him in drawing his line.

It is a matter of just admiration that Mr. Penn obtained a clear perception of so many important political truths; no imputation on the strength of his understanding, that in an age in which political knowledge had made so little progress, he left other truths to disclose themselves gradually in the advancement of the human mind. It is not very difficult at the present day to point out pretty distinctly the landmarks of the share in the field of legislation which ought to be consigned to the people.

Let us put down a few steps of the inquiry. First of all, it is evident that if a share in legislation is necessary for the people, it ought to be such a share as is adequate to the end. This, we should suppose, will not be disputed. It is a maxim which may be held as certain, that the means ought to be proportionate to the end.

What is the end to which the people's share in legislation is directed? It is the security of the people. And security from what? Security from the effects of the self-love of those by whom the laws would otherwise be made.

The means which are proportionate to the security of the people as an end, must be proportionate to the force with which that security is liable to be invaded; and that force is the self-love of those by whom the laws would otherwise be made.

The force of the self-love of any portion of men is equal to their power. Whatever men have power to do for their own benefit, they will do. This is the general rule. And upon this supposition all legislation proceeds.

For the self-love, then, we may substitute the *power* of those, beside the people, who are concerned in the making of laws; and we now see, that the share in the making of laws, which for their own security the people must possess, must be a share completely sufficient to counterbalance the power of all the other individuals or bodies who participate in the legislative functions.

In other words, the people for their own security must possess such a share of legislative power as will, in the first place, enable them to prevent the other share-holders in that power from making any law contrary to the interests of the people; and, in the second place, such a share of legislative power as will enable them to effect the repeal of any law, however old, however dear to the other share-holders, which is really hurtful to the interests of the people.

All this, we suppose, will be unanimously allowed to be involved in the very force of the term *good government*. Without such a share in the legislative power as is here described, the interests of the people, that is, the welfare of the community, is sure to be sacrificed to the self-love of those, be they who they may, by whom the power is possessed. If the people possess no share at all, their interests are sacrificed without resistance. If they possess some share, but a share not adequate to the end, their interests are still sacrificed with an unavailing resistance; and the share which they possess is gradually reduced to a state of inefficiency. It may still remain in name and in form; because the name and the form may be useful to those who have destroyed the reality; the name and the form often deluding the people, and preserving them quiet, when the reality has no longer an existence.

It is, however, an evident truth, and one to which the attention of mankind ought to be carefully directed, that there is no medium; the people must either have their full share in legislative power, a share equal to all its ends, or they will have no share at all. Unless it be a full share, the other sharers have it in their power to diminish it; and there is nothing to which their self-love more forcibly directs them. It is therefore sure to be diminished, more slowly or more rapidly, according to circumstances, but sure to be diminished down to extinction. The modes of proceeding in the process of extinction are two; intimidation and allurements; or the joint operation of both. Under Bonaparte, in France, the *legislative body*, which was the organ of the people, was rendered inefficient chiefly by intimidation, though allurements also had its force. But such a body may also be rendered inefficient by reward; by corrupting the members with individual advantages to consent to laws by which the interests of the people are sacrificed; sacrificed to the interests of those, who in this manner usurp the legislative powers.

As it is our intention here to touch very slightly upon political topics, how deeply soever concerning *THE PHILANTHROPIST*, only so far as is absolutely necessary to elucidate the sentiments

and proceedings of Penn, whose legislative operations constitute so important a part of the transactions of his life, and so memorable an incident in the history of mankind, we shall not descend to the practical details to which these conclusions lead; nor pretend to point out the particular forms under which, with most advantage, that preponderance in the national councils may be given to the people, that decided preponderance which is absolutely necessary for the ends of government, and without which the interests of the community are sure to be sacrificed to the self-love of those in whose partial hands the superintendence of them is placed.

Having seen how clearly and incontrovertibly the necessity of that preponderance is made out, and how far Mr. Penn had advanced in the discovery of these important truths, it is somewhat unexpectedly that we meet with a passage, so inferior as the following, immediately succeeding that which we have last quoted above.

"But, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. *Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.*

"I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that *though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones.* 'Tis true, good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. *That, therefore, which makes a good constitution; must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after-ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.*"

In this passage, the observations with regard to education, and the importance of good morals among the people, are highly just and worthy of regard; but the rest of the discourse is very loose and incorrect, and coincides exactly with that doctrine of

Pope, of which we have just above exposed the mischievous absurdity. It is not true that good men make bad governments good; except when they destroy the bad, and erect good ones in their stead. But it is emphatically true, that bad governments make bad men; and that under bad governments, it is not consistent with the established principles of human nature, that men in general should be any thing else than bad. Bad governments are bad on a double account; 1st, because they make men wretched; 2dly, because they make them worthless. Good governments are good on a double account; both as they render men happy, and as they render them virtuous.

It is also a proposition which is of mixed import, and highly calculated to mislead, that "if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn." It is a fundamental proposition in politics, that with individual exceptions, which are not to be counted as general rules, *all men* will endeavour to warp the government to their own interests. It is a doctrine highly dangerous to suppose that only a few men, those characterized by the term *bad*, will act in this manner. Hardly any man is so good as not so to act. Education has not yet attained sufficient perfection to breed men of a higher description. Small, indeed, in any age or country, has been the number of those whom accident has formed capable of identifying their own with the public interest; capable of valuing more highly those good things which they can enjoy in common with the rest of society, than those which they can appropriate and enjoy by themselves. The dependence of good government, therefore, must not rest upon individuals; it can rest with safety, only there, where there is no interest to act wrong; that is to say, where the interest is the same with that of the community, that is to say, the community itself. The body of the people taken collectively have an invariable, indefeasible interest, in the goodness of the government; and a bad man is governed by feelings of interest certainly not less than the good man. Let a community be as vicious as it is possible to suppose, still good government is its interest. It will therefore desire good government; and, if it understands its interest, will pursue it. It is not therefore necessary to wait till men shall be all good, before we can hope to make governments good. It is only necessary to give the body of the community that efficient control, which is avowedly necessary in all states of moral goodness; namely, such a control as would enable it effectually to prevent those who must be intrusted with the managing departments, from managing so as to serve themselves at the expense of the community. This will make governments good. With-

out this, nothing will do so. In a very inferior state of knowledge among the people, we have no doubt that, under good regulations, this would produce a considerable degree of excellence in the government; and it would necessarily produce greater and greater degrees of excellence in proportion as knowledge was increased.

Of this fallacy, that in order to make governments good, it is requisite to wait till we can make men good, much pernicious use has been made, in order to prevent men from seeking to improve their political institutions. Its influence, therefore, in preventing improvement, that is, its mischievousness, has been very great. If we must not begin to remove the grand cause why men are not good, what possibility is there of ever rendering them good? Remove not the cause, till you have taken away the effect: Get rid of the effect while you leave the cause in full operation, is a strange advice. On any subject on which mankind are accustomed to think with any thing like correctness, such an advice could not fail to expose the adviser to the bitterest contempt and ridicule.

The feelings and restraints under which William Penn drew up his Constitution, and the ends which he destined it to fulfil, are thus instructively stated in his own words:

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and Conditional Laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the Frame and Laws of this Government to the great end of government, *to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.* To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen."

The Constitution, to which this discourse was annexed as a preface, assigned the principal powers of government to the people. Out of the people were formed two assemblies, one called the

"Provincial Council," the other the "General Assembly." The Provincial Council was to consist of 72 members. In the choice of them every free man was to have a vote, and the mode of voting to be that of the ballot. One third part of them were to go out every year by rotation; so that after the first two years every member would serve for three. Unless on account of the length of the service which placed these members during three years without the control of the people, this was the people's assembly; and its acts might justly be accounted the people's acts. This council not only possessed almost all the legislative power, but a considerable portion of the executive. It was its function to prepare and propose bills, to see that the laws were executed, to take care of the peace and safety of the province, to inspect the public treasury, to erect courts of justice, to institute schools, and to reward the authors of useful discovery. Nor was this all the power which was assigned to the people. There was also a General Assembly, which was to possess a complete negative upon all the legislative acts of the council and governor. This assembly was to consist, the first year, of all the freemen of the province, the next year of two hundred members, who were to be increased in proportion to the increase of the population in the province. These were to be chosen by ballot, by all the freemen, and chosen *annually*; they were, therefore, completely under the control of the people; and the acts of this assembly might to all intents and purposes be regarded as the acts of the people. It had no deliberative powers, and was confined to the power of confirming or rejecting, by a simple yes, or no, the bills which might be brought to it from the council and governor. It was, however, vested with a principal share in the power of choosing the chief class of subordinate functionaries which the province possessed. It chose a double number of persons for sheriffs and justices of the peace, of whom the governor chose a half. The governorship was to be hereditary, in the person of Penn and his descendants. The governor was to be perpetual president of the council, and to have three votes; and was to discharge such of the administrative or executive functions as had not been assigned to the council.

The two assemblies were most probably suggested to William Penn by the analogy of the English Constitution; or were possibly forced upon him by the partialities of those whom he found it necessary to please; as he arranged the matter much more simply in the constitution which he bestowed upon New Jersey.

He might, however, think, and think not without reason, that as the provincial council was constituted, though in name and

appearance it was a popular assembly, the people might stand in need of some additional security. It was not impossible, it was rather very probable, that, sooner or later, this council would combine with the governor in acts of misgovernment, jointly beneficial to themselves, and hurtful to the community; a period of three years exempt from check or control affording abundant scope for such operations. It was possibly for this reason, that he deemed a negative on the legislative proceedings of the council and governor necessary to be given to the people.

But why he chose this complicated and circuitous method of arriving at his end, rather than the direct and simple course which he pursued in the case of New Jersey, whether from some necessity, or from choice, he has left altogether unexplained.

The most obvious observations which this constitution further suggests, regard, in the first place, the length of time, three years, for which the members were chosen, a period during which, being exempt from the control of the people, they had a motive, and also opportunity, to convert the power with which they were intrusted, into an instrument for serving their own turn, at the expense of the community. One set of men having this power for three years, and another set of men having this power for three years, there existed in this manner a perpetual motive, and hence a perpetual tendency, in the council, to misgovernment; and as the council was the main instrument of government, a perpetual tendency to misgovernment was thus ensured; which there was nothing to check, but the negative of the general assembly. Whether that was sufficient, we shall afterwards see.

That the tendency of a legislative, or otherwise governing body, chosen by the people, but placed entirely above their control for a number of years, is towards corruption and misgovernment, is, we believe, denied by nobody. Indeed, any man must renounce his title to the reasoning faculty, who disputes it. What is urged by those who advocate long periods, is the inconvenience of frequent elections. Now in this constitution of Penn., the remarkable thing is, that there is a contrivance for producing both evils. In the first place, there is the long period; and, in the next place, the annual election. For what reason, when there was to be an annual election, a part only should be elected, and not the whole, is a subject of wonder. If it was for the purpose of turning out a third part, not immediately re-eligible, while inconvenience was anticipated if the whole should be turned out not re-eligible, this was to make choice of one evil as an end, and to incur another as a means to it. A rule to turn out any portion of a legislative assembly, as not re-eligible, is

decidedly to be regarded as in all cases an evil, and an evil of the first magnitude. It is a contrivance for depriving the nation of the services of the men who are the best capable of serving it. Nor is there any good end which can be served by so unhappy an expedient, which may not be more effectually accomplished by other means. Its professed object is, to prevent the formation of a sinister interest, in the members of the assembly, by employing this as a contrivance for depriving them of the power of serving themselves corruptly, at the expense of the people. But it is evident that it does not deprive them of the power of serving themselves corruptly, at the expense of the people. For it gives to them three years, in which they may accomplish this purpose. Three years is a period, in which effects not contemptible may be produced. An aggravation of the malignity is, if they are not re-eligible. Because, if they were re-eligible, they would have a motive to please the people, from the desire of being returned: being not re-eligible, they are set completely independent of the people, and may pursue their own interest at the expense of the people, without fear or regard; knowing the people by this mischievous expedient utterly deprived of power, either to punish or reward them. If you would prevent the formation of a sinister interest in the representation of the people, by depriving them of the power of serving themselves corruptly, while at the same time you will create a motive for the genuine service of the people, and not deprive yourselves of the abilities and virtues of your most valuable men, render them perpetually re-eligible, but re-eligible at short periods. It is evident that William Penn was not alarmed at frequency of election, since he made it annual. And it is equally evident that he supposed annual duration indispensably necessary for the security of the people; for, having made one assembly of three years duration, he deemed not the people safe, without another, of only one year's duration, having a perfect negative upon the legislative operations of the other.

Whether this negative was a sufficient security, will be seen in part by the following short reflection, which is all that we must permit ourselves to bestow upon the subject. The negative enabled the people to prevent the passing of any law to make their condition worse, but it gave them no power to produce the enactment of a law to make their condition better. It gave them no power to lessen in any the smallest degree, whatsoever latitude for abuse existed in the powers conferred upon the council and governor. Within these limits it was possible, in contempt of the people, for the governor and council to sacrifice, to their own

interests, the interests of the people, in any manner they chose. It was the very nature of the constitution, therefore, to produce that sacrifice.

After having made all sorts of prudent arrangements, Penn embarked for America in the summer of 1682, leaving his wife and family behind him. The parting letter which he thought proper to address to them, as more durable than oral discourse, is such a mixture of tenderness and wisdom, as cannot be read without emotion and instruction; and we regret that its length renders it inconvenient for insertion. The first assembly was convened, and among the fundamental laws which it established Mr. Clarkson notices the following:

"All persons who confessed the one almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World, and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, were in no ways to be molested for their religious persuasion and practice, nor to be compelled at any time to frequent any religious place or ministry whatever. All Treasurers, however, Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all whatsoever in the service of the Government, and all members elected to serve in Provincial Council and General Assembly, and all electors, were to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and as had not been convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and who were one-and-twenty years of age. All children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none might be idle in the province; but that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Servants were not to be kept longer than the time of servitude agreed upon, and were to be put in fit equipage at the expiration of it. All pleadings, processes, and records in Courts of Law were to be as short as possible. All fees of Law were to be moderate, and to be hung up on tables in the Courts. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted were to have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. All fines were to be moderate. With respect to the criminal part of these Laws, one new principle was introduced into it. William Penn was of opinion, that though the deterring of others from offences must continue to be the great and indeed only end of punishment, yet, in a community professing itself Christian, the reformation of the offender was to be inseparably connected with it. Hence he made but two capital offences; namely, murder, and treason against the State: and hence also all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed."

In these legislative arrangements, two-features appear which were entirely new in Christendom. The one was toleration, not only to all sects of Christians whatsoever, but to Jews or Mo-

hammedans, or even disbelievers in revealed religion altogether; the belief of a God being here the only implied condition. The other feature was, the attempt to render prisons schools of improvement, not instruments of torture and instruments of death. For these two important improvements, if he had performed no more, William Penn would have deserved to be ranked among the few men who can be pointed out as having been, with their intention, to any great degree the benefactors of mankind. It is not easy to express the admiration which the man deserves who could rise so far above the age in which he lived, as to embrace and to act upon these liberal and beneficent views. Compare with William Penn, the other legislators of whom history makes its boast, compare Lycurgus and Solon, and how contemptible do their operations appear!

"The Assembly having sat three days, broke up; but, before they adjourned, they returned their most grateful thanks to the Governor. The Swedes also deputed for themselves Lacy Cock to return him their thanks, and to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they had ever seen."

His next memorable transaction was that of his great treaty with the Indians, upon which the applause of mankind has already been liberally bestowed. Though the passage is long, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting Mr. Clarkson's account of this transaction entire.

"His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the King's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed Commissioners, as I mentioned in the preceding chapter, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a Treaty of eternal Friendship. This the Commissioners had done; and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian Chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon,—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

"It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor Treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in Quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the Treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxon an elm tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual military sash, and much like it except in colour. On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left his friend Pearson before mentioned; after whom followed a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandize, which, when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the Confirmation of the Treaty of Purchase and Amity, in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the Chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations and according to Scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the Chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their Chiefs in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the Nations were ready to hear him.

"Having been thus called upon, he began. The Great Spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side.

* This sash is now in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq. of Seething-hall, near Norwich.

but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their eternal union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandize which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them children or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a Chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

"That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon; but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted, that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the Sun and Moon should endure."

The following account of the original state and the early progress of the colony is copied by Mr. Clarkson from the letter of a person who went out with Penn.

"After our arrival," says he, "we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, with Joshua Tittery, I made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about a shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

"And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought us in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"After our arrival there came in about twenty families from High and Low Germany of religious good people, who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place German Town—About the time when German Town was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had bought of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence, where I set up a house and corn-mill, which was very useful to the country for several miles round; but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse.

"Being now settled within six or seven miles of Philadelphia, where I left the principal body of Friends together with the chief place of provisions, flesh-meat was very scarce with me for some time, of which I found the want.

"As people began to spread, and to improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad; and as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful land; on which things to look back and observe all the steps would exceed my present purpose. Yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory being pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the Province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our religious meetings, wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness in reaching and convincing many persons of the principles of Truth: and those who were already convinced, and who continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of Heaven."

In the year 1684, after making such arrangements as appeared to him necessary for the right ordering of affairs in his absence, he returned to England, where shortly after Charles the Second died. From the connection which, as naval men, had subsisted between the Duke of York and Admiral Penn, the Duke had manifested an attachment to William, whom the admiral, on his death-bed, recommended to his protection. The intimacy to which the Duke had admitted him, was increased rather than diminished upon his ascending the throne. In the probity and sincerity of the man, there was something in which he could confide; and Penn was not unwilling to cultivate the access which he enjoyed to the King, for the purpose of procuring an extension of religious indulgence to his friends. The consequence, however, was inconvenient, though not surprising. The odium in which the King was held rebounded upon Penn; and even upon the Quakers. He was called, and even believed to be, a Papist; and discourses of unpopular import were printed, subscribed with the initials of his name, and imputed to him as the author. He was at last so far urged as to publish a vindication, in which he strongly held forth the advantage of mutual forbearance among religious parties, and the innumerable evils arising from the hostile passions in which the different sects of Christians abounded towards one another; and concluded it with these memorable words: "I would yet heartily wish that moderation might take place, and *persuasion* instead of *persecution*; that we might not grow *barbarous* for christianity, nor abuse and undo one another *for God's sake*."

In a correspondence with Dr. Tillotson upon the subject of this calumny, he says, "I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them:—The first is, obedience, upon authority, without conviction; and the other, the destroying them that differ from me, for God's sake.—And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholic—though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind; and dare not deny to others, what I crave for myself; I mean, liberty of the exercise of my religion; thinking faith, piety, and providence, a better security than force; and that, if Truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

Of Penn's influence with the King, one incident is recorded which is too memorable to be omitted.

"Among the first applications which he made to the King was one, the remembrance of which will always do honour to his memory. It was in behalf of the venerable John Locke, who had followed his patron, the Earl of Shaftsbury, into Holland, when he

fled there to avoid the further persecution of his own Court. Locke himself had been deprived, only the preceding year, of his place of Student of Christ-church, Oxford, with all its rights and advantages, by the command of the late King, and was at this time in danger of being seized and sent to England in consequence of the opposition he had given to Popery and arbitrary power. It was at this moment then that William Penn applied. His application was successful. At least James the Second permitted William Penn to inform Locke that he should be pardoned. The message was accordingly sent. Locke in return expressed his sense of the friendship of William Penn, but said that he had no occasion for a pardon when he had not been guilty of any crime."

Abuses in Pennsylvania began to creep in during his absence. He had made some regulations for preventing law expenses. But the men of the law had already begun their contrivances for the multiplication of fees, the intelligence of which gave him great uneasiness. He wrote to them upon this subject with more than his usual severity. "It is an abominable thing," says he, "to have three warrants for one purchase. It is oppression which my soul loathes. I do hereby require, that P. L. be called to account for requests and warrants for Town-lot, Liberty-lot, and the rest of the purchase. Why not one warrant for all, at least for Liberty-lot and the remainder? This is true and right oppression." Would to God that the feelings, so nobly expressed on this subject by Penn, were laid to heart in the country which gave him birth, and in which, from that time to this, the burthen of this oppression has been so heavy upon the loins of the people!

In the mean time, Penn was laboriously and zealously employed in propagating, both by his lips and his pen, the great doctrines of religious liberty. About this time one of his most remarkable tracts, "The Persuasive to Moderation," appeared. It is said to have made a considerable impression; and shortly after its publication, a proclamation was issued for a general pardon to all who were in prison on account of their religion. Of the Quakers alone it is said that not less than *twelve hundred* persons were liberated, many of whom had been in confinement for years! Such was the nature of the times!

An incident now occurred, of which it is necessary to make mention. Penn made known his intention of repeating his apostolic visit to the continent; and the King, who was very intent on procuring the abolition of all restrictions on the professors of his own religion, gave him a commission to the Prince of Orange, to confer with him on the subject of religious liberty, and endeavour to procure his countenance to the establishment of tolera-

tion, and the removal of tests in England. Penn, whose notions of toleration were so generous and enlarged, gladly undertook a commission so congenial to his desires. At the Hague, Burnet, the historian and bishop, was already present; and among other objects for which he was endeavouring to prepare the way, was a species of license or permission for the exercise of all religions, which he called toleration, but with a strict adherence to tests, the object of which was to exclude from all offices of trust and power all but members of the Established Church. Upon this point the exhortations of the two Englishmen to the Prince divided; William Penn having a clear and distinct conception of the injustice and impolicy of all such restraints, and having victoriously proved their injustice and impolicy in several of his publications. They had conversations of great length upon the subject, which ended not in changing the opinion of either. The plea of danger Penn held as totally unfounded, seeing the laws were competent to prevent every wrongful act. Mr. Clarkson adds, "This perseverance irritated Burnet. Indeed Burnet was not well disposed to him before, believing him to be a Papist, if not a Jesuit. But now he was prejudiced against him, so that he never mentioned him afterwards but coldly or sneeringly, or in a way to lower him in the estimation of the reader, whenever he had occasion to speak of him in the History of his own Times." The fact is, that Burnet, beside his interests as a churchman, was of a character so different from the sincere and manly conduct of Penn, and had a mind so little capable of entering into the grandeur of William Penn's enlarged and comprehensive and sublime benevolence, that it is no wonder at all if an antipathy was engendered; and the mode in which Burnet in his History expresses himself on the subject of Penn and his Society, is one of the stains in what is in many respects a just and valuable record of the circumstances of the times.

In the mean time, the affairs of his government went on by no means satisfactorily in his absence. Heats and discords arose; good things were omitted, and bad things were done. A considerable portion of the power reserved to himself had been communicated to the Council during his absence. This, as a temporary expedient, Penn now withdrew, intrusting it by commission to five individuals.

Upon the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, William Penn was appointed to carry up to him a thankful address from the Quakers. Penn accompanied the written, with a short oral discourse, of which we shall produce only one sentence, but a sentence which has in it the essence of so much wisdom, that the

knowledge of government may be considered as highly advanced, when the affairs of nations are guided by its influence. "We pray God to continue the King in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle, that has good nature, christianity, and the good of civil society on its side,—a security to him beyond the little arts of government."

What superiority do the words of this man possess to almost any thing that was written or spoken on the subject of government for half a century of continued improvement subsequent to the times in which he lived! His grand object now was to perfect the work of religious liberty in England, by procuring the entire abolition of all tests, penalties, and restrictions; the reasonableness and utility and safety of which he supported with great strength of reason in various publications.

As the panic of the nation regarding popery, and their jealousy and suspicion towards the King, arose, the confidential access of Penn to the royal presence, and his strenuous and incessant advocacy of the extension of religious liberty, exempt from tests and disqualifications of every description, to all classes of Christians, even to Roman catholics, called down upon him by degrees the same injurious apprehensions as were attached to the King; and he was at last (such is the character of popular delusion) fully regarded as a Papist in disguise, and even as a Jesuit; and stories were told of his Popish education, and even of his having officiated as a priest in the King's chapel. In this state of things, some of his friends grew alarmed for his freedom, if not for his safety; and one of them, a gentleman of the name of Popple, who was Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations, and a joint friend of the two most remarkable men of their age, William Penn and John Locke, wrote to him an affectionate and liberal and elegant letter, pressing him to take some steps towards the disabusing of the public mind. Of this letter, which Mr. Clarkson has inserted in his text, we shall copy only one paragraph.

"Now, that I might the more effectually persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, Sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a person, raised as you are above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake in so important a matter. The general and long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also enemies of a higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes by all sorts of malicious artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will

be thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniences that may arise from thence no less increased. This, sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose interest it is to cross it. I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means, they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you; that, in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense of your honour, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute."

That interest, which this good man so feelingly points out, that interest of many and powerful parties, to cross the design of an universal liberty of conscience, and their endeavours "to execute their revenge" upon those who advance it; that is it which upholds persecution, and prolongs from generation to generation the misery of mankind!

Penn's answer to this letter was a noble composition, and well denotes the calm intrepidity which supported his sublime philanthropy. The following passage relates to the paragraph which we have just quoted from Mr. Popple's letter.

"But, alas! I am not without my apprehension of the cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice is the religion of him that imposes it: so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience, for any body, which did not preserve the common Protestantism of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the Government: for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other."

How just and admirable are the ideas thus distinctly expressed! that the religion which is not of a man's own choosing is no religion at all; and that nothing in the acts of government,

or in the acts of one man towards another, should have any regard to any thing in religious opinions, except their *morality*. Pass this boundary, and you plunge into the dark and boundless ocean of malignity, persecution, and confusion.

The additional sentiments, on this first of subjects, unfolded in the following words, can never be too often nor too urgently, in the still unhappy state of the minds of men upon religion, pressed upon their understandings and their hearts.

"If, therefore, an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all buildings which have them not for their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul, no good, or example to one's neighbour. Let us not flatter ourselves; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance: as if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge: but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And if this be their judgement, can it be our blessing?—Let us not then think religion a litigious thing, nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that he came also to make us good livers: sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and happy would it be if *where unity ends, charity did begin*.

"He that suffers his difference with his neighbour about the other world to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true.

"*Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Self prevails, and breaks out, more or less, through all forms but too plainly, (pride, wrath, lust, avarice,) so that though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own; which shows them to be true Heathens, under a mask of Christianity.*"

His innocence did not save him; for shortly after the Revolution he was arrested, and examined before the Privy Council, where nothing appeared against him, but he was ordered to give

bail. Upon his appearance in the court of law, no evidence would be produced, and he was discharged.

The following year he was arrested again, upon the interception of a letter which had been written to him by James. But as every thing which appeared was of a tendency to prove that Penn was not privy to the letter, he was again discharged. The magnanimity with which he declared his personal attachment to James, while he declared his sense of the inviolable fidelity which he owed to the existing government; is said to have made a deep impression upon William; and he would have discharged him immediately, but for some of the zealous lords of the council, to please whom he was ordered to give bail to answer in the courts of law.

No evidence again appearing, he was again discharged.

In this year the alarms of the nation ran high. The King was called to meet the Irish war, while England was threatened with a French invasion. The Queen issued a proclamation for the apprehension of a list of suspected persons, in which William Penn was included. He was arrested, imprisoned, and brought to trial; but once more acquitted.

Tired of this persecution, and anxious for Pennsylvania, where the affairs of the government went but indifferently on, he now hastened the preparations for crossing the Atlantic, which had been so often postponed. These were nearly completed, when William Fuller, whom the Parliament afterwards stigmatized as a cheat and impostor, accused him upon oath, and officers were sent to apprehend him. In these circumstances Penn chose not to leave the country, as if flying from justice. He took a private lodging in London, and determined to live in retirement. In this situation he continued for about three years, visited by a few friends, and not absolutely confining himself to his home, yet unmolested by the government, though another proclamation was issued for his apprehension, and though several publications proceeded from his pen.

However, in 1693, he was deprived of his government of Pennsylvania; and having much impaired his fortune, by his disbursements on account of that province, from which he had as yet obtained scarcely any return, he was now placed in narrow circumstances, and unable, from want of pecuniary means, to remove his family to Pennsylvania. His pen in the mean time was never idle; and several of its productions issued from the press. In the mean time the injustice of the treatment, on groundless suspicions, to which he had been subjected, interested several leading men in his fate. The King, when applied to,

expressed himself to have been always favourably disposed to Penn, who however disdained to accept of any indulgence without an acquittal. He was heard before the Privy Council, declared free from every charge, and after some months restored to his government.

We shall pass over the intervening period (in which nothing singular, as regarded the public, took place in the life of Penn, though various productions of his issued yearly from the press,) till the year 1699, in which he actually returned to America. Not only had the assumption of the government by the King's governor at New York, during the time of Penn's suspension, been productive of disorder; but even among the people themselves little cordiality had existed in the management of their joint affairs; and the business of government had not been skilfully performed. He applied himself with great diligence and success in reconciling contending interests, and removing every obstruction which prevented the wheels of government from going smoothly; considerable changes were, by a new charter, introduced into the government; even the great change of a power to the assembly to discuss and originate bills. He appears to have made up his mind there to remain with his family till the end of his days. But a resolution taken in England to alter the constitution of the colonies, and make the governments every where not popular, but regal, made him deem it necessary to return to the country of his birth, and to use what influence he could to prevent so great an act of injustice to himself, and of injury to the province. He arrived at Portsmouth the latter end of the year 1701, after an absence of somewhat more than two years, and found the intention of changing the American governments dropped.

His chief occupation for several years consisted in propagating his religious opinions in itinerant missions, and in defending them, together with his own grand doctrine of the liberty of thinking freely on religious subjects, by the press; while, notwithstanding the moderation of himself and family, he came into pecuniary straits. The causes were twofold; his great disbursements on account of the province, from which little or nothing of his dues had ever arrived; and the treachery of a man who had been intrusted as his steward, and by whom he lost great sums of money. On these accounts he was constrained in 1709 to mortgage his province of Pennsylvania for 6,600*l*.

As his health was now rapidly declining (he was 70 years of age); as the contentious spirit manifested by the council and

assembly of the province, presented to him a scene of troubles, to which he was now unable sufficiently to attend; and as the situation of his fortune in England made it necessary for him to think of his family, he entered into a treaty with the Government for the sale of the province. Government was willing to give 12,000*l.*; but a severe apoplectic attack, which almost deprived him of his faculties, prevented the conclusion of the contract. From this time he continued helpless in mind and body for a few years of gradual decline, when the springs of life being worn out, he gently expired. He was not only one of the greatest benefactors of mankind that ever lived; but pursued the good of mankind, as his main object, with a steadiness and completeness, with a separation of all selfish regards, which appear to us to have scarcely had an example among the children of men. His mental accomplishments, which bore an advantageous comparison with those of the greatest men of his age, were but secondary to the sublime progress which he had made in the highest and rarest department of morality, the preference of public to private regards. *His religion* was not, what that of so many has always been, inconsistent with virtue.

A story was propagated, after his death, of his having died insane; which gave more uneasiness to his friends than needful. Had it been true, it was no imputation, more than any other disease, upon the wisdom or virtue of his former life; and it is abundantly ascertained that it was not madness, but imbecility, chiefly appearing in an almost total loss of memory, which apoplexy had produced in his mind.

Mr. Clarkson concludes the account of his character in the following words;

“He seems, if I may use the expression, to have been daily conversant with the Divine Being, daily worshipping and praising him, either in his own private, or in his family, or in his public devotions, and daily walking with him in his multifarious concerns. All his publications, nay, almost every letter, whether public or private, breathes a spirit of piety and reliance upon God. Hence he must have been lowly-minded, merciful, and just. Hence under disappointment he must have been patient, under persecution forgiving. And here let me observe, that, though his life was a scene of trial and suffering, he must have had intervals of comfort and happiness the most solid and brilliant, one ray from the Divine Presence dissipating whole clouds of affliction around him. What other amiable traits must there not have been in the character of one who walked in such an heavenly path!”

Mr. Clarkson dedicates an entire chapter to the refutation of

such charges as from time to time have been invented or repeated against the character of Penn. For this we must refer to the work itself, where every candid reader will meet with satisfaction.

We cannot withhold from the edification of the reader, the following remarks of Mr. Clarkson, on one feature of the character of Penn as a legislator.

"It will appear then, from the view I have taken of what has been considered as a defective part of his Government, that he deserves, first, the character of a wise legislator *by the adaptation of his system to existing circumstances*; and, secondly, that of a virtuous one, *by his willingness to relinquish a part of it when a new situation of things rendered it desirable*. If the end of Government be the general happiness—and if its excellence, the happy manner of its administration, and its durability, depend upon virtue—then it is the duty of a Christian Governor to be willing to promote every change which may conduce to the improvement of the rational liberty or of the moral condition of the governed. I know of no instance where a Legislator can display his Christian character to more advantage than in this; and it was in this that William Penn so eminently shone. He was always willing to change for the better, always willing to alter rationally with the times. In 1683 he told the Assembly, "that they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and that he was ready to settle such foundations with them as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him." In 1701, when he was about to leave them to go to England, he exhorted them, 'seeing all men were mortal, to think of some suitable expedient for their safety as well in their privileges as in their property, and to review again their Laws, and propose new ones that might better suit their circumstances.' Here then lies the difference between the Christian Statesman and the Politician of the World. The former, *loving Virtue, will be pliant and always ready to obey its call*. The latter, *loving Power, will be unwilling to part with it*. Can any thing be more obvious than that, as the moral and political states of kingdoms change, the laws of the same should in some measure be changed also; or that laws passed in the days of ferocity, ignorance, and superstition, are unfit for a civilized people? And yet how obstinate have political Governors been in retaining them, though they themselves have acknowledged them to be useless! Hence letters of blood, though dead letters in themselves, continue to stain the Statute Books even of enlightened Legislatures to the present day."

It is impossible for us to pursue this inviting subject any further. The concluding chapters of Mr. Clarkson's work contain an ample review of the character and conduct of William Penn, as a legislator; and of the happy results which attended his measures. These we recommend with great warmth to the atten-

tion of the reader. The difference between good Government and bad Government, is there portrayed in colours well calculated to affect even those who are but indifferent to the condition of their fellow men. And the imperfections which still exist, even in the most applauded systems of legislation, are held up with an earnestness of recommendation, which we hope will touch the public mind, for those emendations which reason and the good of mankind so forcibly suggest.

Comparative View of the external or physical Means that have been employed in the Treatment of Insanity.

WHEN we hear of any new means, whether moral or physical, that have been found successful in the treatment of insanity, we are naturally led to inquire upon what *principle* their success depends. It may therefore be a useful labour to bring together under one view the several modes, of a particular character, that have been most extolled, that we may endeavour to deduce some *general* conclusions, or practical rules, applicable to most cases of the disorder. It is obvious, that books and communications to the world are only valuable as they lead, from numerous details, to the establishment of some grand result, that involves a general law, truth or principle, easily laid hold of by future inquirers, for the enlargement of science and for the good of society. If, therefore, in a few short sentences at the end of each new work, whether it may treat of ethics, physics, art or science, the condensed spirit or essence of the author's labour were delivered in the form of aphorism or corollary, how much time might be saved, in wandering else through a tedious labyrinth of detail, before the object of research could be discovered! Indeed, unless some plan of this kind is adopted, *general truths*, properly so called, will be so buried in extrinsic matter by the prolific power of the press; and *the same* general facts so disseminated and diluted in the writings of different men, (if this variety of metaphor may be excused,) that posterity will have almost as much difficulty in the discovery of such, as the present age, that relies chiefly on observation. When books that treat of any particular subject are *few*, we are necessitated to inquire and to think for ourselves. When they are so *numerous*, that a dozen volumes, the production of as many authors, must be explored in order to find out a single practical principle, the diffi-

only is almost as great as in the former case, and the labour of preceding inquirers partly rendered void. But, if we might assure ourselves of possessing the direct practical inference from each distinct scientific work at the end of it, what a store of aphorisms might thus be collected! useful materials to complete the edifice of science, and to enlarge the boundaries of human happiness.

In our review of the description of The Retreat near York, in the twelfth Number of THE PHILANTHROPIST, we discovered that the principle of moral discipline adopted in that institution was slow and steady in its operation—calculated to work a change no less salutary than permanent in the diseased mind. We also discovered that this principle consisted in uniform kindness, steady firmness and mild remonstrance—in contrasting the effects of peaceable and unruly behaviour—in exciting innocent emulation—in diverting the attention by gentle employment or harmless amusement, and in wisely adapting the treatment to the multiplied diversities of the disorder.

Under this view, the human mind, though in a state of *alienation*, is considered to be still subject to the same laws which govern the *most rational*, and is accordingly so treated. Objects of terror and offence, whatever irritates the fancy or insults the understanding, are alike removed from the patients of The Retreat. Treated as rational, they at last become rational. Their moral feelings are attentively consulted, and encouraged with religious care. The means employed for the restoration of reason do not interfere with, or counteract, the mild influence of the affections. These keep pace with the comparing faculty in its progress to intellectual health. The delicacy of sensibility receives no wound, and remains tremblingly alive to gratitude and the most tender impressions. This view of the treatment of our fellow-creatures in such afflicting cases, is consonant to reason, to humanity, and to our best feelings. We could not wish it otherwise. For the laws of our constitution seem to indicate in diseases of the mind as well as of the body, particularly in those called chronic, *that a healthful change, to be sure and permanent, must be slowly effected.* What is hasty and rash is apt to be injurious; and when the prevalence and power of habit in the constitution are considered, we cannot wonder at such a result.

We regret with the author of this interesting "Description," that the results of cases admitted into different establishments for the cure of the insane, under different modes of treatment, are not more frequently laid before the public. A useful comparison might thus be formed. It is indeed a matter of great diffi-

culty, of which S. Tuke seems duly aware, to give correct accounts of the numbers *cured* or *recovered*. The statements extracted from the registers of some public establishments are on this account extremely defective. The words *recovery* and *cure* admit of different acceptation; and the author has very properly made a distinction. Many *recover* from attacks of mania or melancholia, who cannot justly be denominated *cured*. For the disorder is liable to relapse; and the seeds are often so deeply sown, that it would be as easy to change the sanguine into the melancholic temperament, as to effect a radical and decisive cure. Yet, after making allowance for the above difficulties, we do not hesitate to assert our belief, that the cases of successful termination at The Retreat far exceed in proportion the number of those that occur in any modern institution, (so far as we have the means of judging from printed Reports,) we do not fear to say of any similar institution whatever of the present day. Of the recent maniacal cases admitted into The Retreat, about two-thirds have been discharged perfectly recovered. The same proportion also appears in the recent cases of melancholia. Of the old, or what are usually termed incurable cases of mania, about one in six has been discharged perfectly *recovered*; and the same proportion *improved*. Of the old melancholic cases, it may be said that one in three has been recovered.

Patients who have afterwards relapsed are not included among those who are reported *recovered*.

It is an interesting fact, which appears to contradict the experience of some other institutions, that at The Retreat a greater proportion of melancholic than of maniacal patients recover.

After this view of the superior benefits which we have proved to result from the general practice of The Retreat, let us consider and compare the efficacy of other means, which do not seem to have a reference to the same principle. We have not here any statement of numbers to guide our inquiries. We may be able, notwithstanding, to derive some useful inferences from the comparison. So far as our information reaches, the most intelligent practitioners, after reiterated experiments, have begun to place less confidence in the use of internal remedies in the cure of insanity. In other words, the moral treatment is most approved. Yet the means which we are about to consider, are perhaps better entitled to the appellation of physical than moral. And much stress has recently been laid upon some of them.

In his Commentaries on Boerhaave's Aphorisms, Van Swieten, a writer of undoubted veracity, tells us of a man in Holland, very celebrated for the cure of insanity, who restored numbers to rea-

son by a method peculiar to himself. As soon as his patients became violent, he treated them like wild beasts, with whips and chains, hunger and thirst; and sometimes he poured cold water over their bodies. When their fury had subsided, and calmness ensued, he soothed them with every possible endearment, and refused them nothing which they desired. In this way, by the threat of punishment he restrained their incipient paroxysms; and, on the contrary, by the offer of every indulgence, he encouraged their hopes, and at length effected a cure.

Dr. Gregory also mentions the case of a farmer in the north of Scotland, of Herculean size and commanding presence, who adopted a practice somewhat similar with wonderful effect. He subdued the ravings of his patients by yoking them together like oxen to the plough, and by employing them in various agricultural occupations.

Now, independently of the apparent cruelty, to which few would submit their friends, it is obvious that there are many species of low melancholy to which these modes of cure are not applicable; without considering the probability, that the strength of some would perhaps irrecoverably sink under the first ordeal, and that neither practice is suitable for those of delicate frame and respectable rank in society. Even if the principle were more conformable to reason than it is, such practice would not be likely to become very general.

Van Helmont's method of curing insanity is of the same summary character. He relates the case of an Antwerp carpenter, who, having fancied that he saw horrible spectres at night, was so terrified that he lost his reason. He was tied, and conveyed in a carriage to another place, but contrived to loose himself, and plunged headlong from the carriage into a deep pond. After remaining under water some time, he was taken up apparently lifeless. He soon however revived, became perfectly sane, and lived eighteen years.

Helmont, after this fact, tried *submersion* on various maniacs, and declares that he never failed to effect a cure "unless (a curious expression) *they were drawn out of the water too soon, through fear of their being drowned.*"

The cautious and intelligent Boerhaave himself recommends the practice as "*princeps remedium.*" His enlightened commentator advises it after other remedies shall have failed. But submersion is not at all likely to be admitted into general practice, because, although approved by Boerhaave, who advises it to be continued as long as it can be borne, (*quamdiu ferri potest,*) yet the rule is so indefinite, and the practice so pregnant with imme-

diate danger, that it cannot be indiscriminately recommended; scarcely even with precautions intrusted to the generality of keepers.

A case related by the late ingenious Dr. Currie*, of Liverpool, particularly refers to this practice, and is worth insertion. He states that a man, aged thirty-two, of very irregular habits, was admitted into the Liverpool Asylum on the 2d of June 1796, in a state of furious insanity, supposed to have arisen from excessive drinking. Coercion, purgatives, laudanum in large quantities, digitalis, &c. were successively employed for five weeks with scarcely any abatement of his violent paroxysms. The tepid bath also and tepid affusion were tried for many days; and once the use of the former occasioned *animi deliquium* in the bath. But though great debility followed, little benefit ensued. "Perplexed with these extremes," says Dr. Currie, "and keeping in mind the success of the cold bath in convulsive diseases, I ordered it to be tried on the present occasion. The insanity returning with great violence on the 21st of July, he was thrown headlong into the cold bath. He came out calm, and nearly rational; and this interval of reason continued for twenty-four hours. The same practice was directed to be repeated as often as the insanity recurred. The following is the report of the 30th: 'The direction has been followed; and on the morning of the 23d he was again thrown into the cold bath in the height of his fury as before. As he came out he was thrown in again; and this was repeated five different times, till he could not leave the bath without assistance. He became perfectly calm and rational in the bath, and has continued so ever since.' This patient never relapsed, and was discharged some time afterwards in perfect health of body and mind."

This we consider a most interesting case; and coming from an author of such celebrity as Dr. Currie, it particularly merits the notice of practitioners.

It is certainly probable that in some recent cases, especially in those proceeding from such a cause as that stated by Dr. Currie, insanity might yield to such a violent shock as precipitation into the cold bath must give to the whole frame; for we have known obstinate agues cured by such means; yet the same remedy has been often tried in ague without effect; and we anticipate but little benefit from the practice in madness or melancholy, where there is a constitutional tendency. It would appear from the above and some similar trials, that the degree of benefit resulting

* Vide Medical Reports on the Effects of Water, cold and warm, in various Diseases, chap. 13.

is commensurate with the lassitude and complete exhaustion of physical force; from the rapid abstraction of animal heat under the operation. It is not generally understood how powerfully the cold bath diminishes inordinate muscular exertion, particularly the actions that are obedient to the will; and what extreme debility follows its use. The resistance which the fluid offers, the shock to the sentient extremities of the nerves, and the rapid abstraction of vital heat, are amongst the causes of this debility. The subject is of great practical importance, and well deserves further attention.

Whether the means at present employed by Delahoyde and Lucett, which have excited such marked attention, have any analogy to the above violent process, we are not quite prepared to state. The sudden effect, which we have understood to be produced, would seem to justify such an opinion. It is admitted, that the treatment to which we now allude has been attended in some cases with results singularly beneficial. We are however disposed to think, from the very circumstance of the effects being so suddenly produced, that the propriety of the *general* application of these means is to be questioned. Insanity is a disorder so varied in its appearance, so complex in its nature and causes, and has so intimate a relation to the most delicate organization of the human constitution, that it is not to be supposed any *one* mode of practice, much less *one* that operates by giving a direct shock to the tender frame, can apply to all cases. For such a disease as the gout, much less varied in its appearance, how many boasted remedies have been trumpeted to the world, each in its day, as a specific, and all fallen into oblivion; or at least into the common level of auxiliary agents!

In a late number of the Medical and Physical Journal, an account of the process of Delahoyde and Lucett is detailed by a gentleman named Tardy, who states that he had been concerned with Lucett himself in employing what are now considered *the new means* for the cure of insanity. The particulars appear to be given with much fairness and candour. The chief effect seems to be produced by placing the patient in a warm bath, increasing the temperature at different trials from 96 to 108 degrees, and at the same time pouring a stream of water, tepid, cool, or icy-cold, upon the bare head, taking care to defend the shoulders by a kind of shield from the cold. According to the exigency of the case the temperature is varied. Relaxation soon follows—diminished vascular action;—reason returns even under the operation;—quiet, and often profound sleep succeed. If this really be the mode of treating insanity practised by the gen-

tlemen above mentioned, as we have every reason to believe, with some little modification, perhaps, to be the fact, there appears no particular physical objection to its *occasional* use in aid of other means.

But the practice is by no means *new*, as many have been led to suppose. Upwards of 1700 years ago, Celsus, the classic writer in medicine, who practised at Rome, advised that the body should be immersed in a tepid bath of oil and water; and at the same time that a stream of cold water should be poured suddenly upon the head. We are of opinion that the practice obtains in Italy at this very day.

The Baron Van Swieten asserts, that many cases are recorded in which physicians have used cold applications to the head of maniacs with the most successful results; that in the instance of a young man affected with raging mania from the immoderate use of wine, upon whose shaven head a stream of water intensely cold was poured from the height of twenty feet, whilst the body was placed in a cold bath, a profound sleep of twenty-nine hours followed, and he awoke perfectly well; and that many observations confirm the excellent use of cold water employed in this way; especially in those cases where the disease has arisen from the *too liberal use of wine in very warm weather*. This latter remark may be a valuable hint to those who are disposed to make trial of the practice. The analogy which the above case bears to that related by Dr. Currie is sufficiently striking.

It is perhaps an improvement upon this practice to substitute the warm bath in place of the cold, so as to render it applicable to a greater number of cases. The warm bath *alone* was highly recommended by the celebrated Hoffman as a remedy of superlative excellence in mental disorders; indeed, as one that succeeded better than any other which he had tried, both in mania and melancholia. In the experience of The Retreat it has been found inferior to none. Rationality, composure and sleep, after a state of violent perturbation both of body and mind, have often immediately followed its use.

The powerfully relaxing effect of the hot bath is known to most practitioners. If long continued, it produces even in the strong and healthy a sensation of extreme lassitude, profuse perspiration from the head and face, and a tendency to *deliquium animi*. It is natural to suppose that the last effect would be accompanied with diminished action of the heart and arteries.

It remains, therefore, to consider the combined effect which must result from the affusion of cold or tepid water upon the bare head, whilst the body is subjected to the operation of the warm

bath. Reasoning *a priori*, the application of cold under such circumstances must give a violent shock to the frame, particularly to the sensorial impressions; and we think it very capable, in cases of high cerebral excitement, of producing a powerful reaction upon the trunk and extremities, subduing animal strength, and bringing back mental energy in its place. We do not suppose that maniacs are possessed of such amazing strength as they are often represented to be; yet it cannot be denied that the proper equilibrium between animal and intellectual vigour frequently turns in favour of the former at the expense of the latter. It is not necessary to illustrate this position. We think, however, that many cautious practitioners would fear to employ the above process in cases of great weakness and low nervous despondency. It is presumed, the mildest means, if at all, are employed in such instances, so as to produce an effect with the least possible shock.

The event must be left to those enlightened few, who will communicate to the world the result of experiments conducted for the interests of humanity and of science, and not for private emolument. It is scarcely to be doubted, from the nature of the disorder and the acknowledged efficacy of the moral treatment, that the practice in question, whatever it be, will hold only a subordinate place in the general treatment of insanity.

Circumgyration, or swinging, when first practised in the cure of mania, was extolled as a wonderful remedy in producing effects like intoxication and profound sleep. Dr. Cox speaks highly of its success. We are told by the Doctor, that swinging may be employed either in the common way, or in the circular manner; with more effect, however, in the circular than the oscillatory way; and sooner in the horizontal than the perpendicular position. Dr. Cox has observed, that swinging, often repeated, had the singular effect of rendering the system sensible to the action of agents whose powers it before resisted. One of its most valuable properties was, its proving a mechanical anodyne. After a few circumvolutions, he has witnessed its soothing, lulling effects; the mind has become tranquillized and the body quiescent; a degree of vertigo has often followed; and this has been succeeded by the most refreshing slumbers. By the protracted action of the circular swing, Dr. Cox has sometimes seen the patient almost deprived of his locomotive powers; and although it required the united strength and address of several experienced attendants to place him in it, still he has been taken out of it by a single person; the most refreshing sleep has followed; and convalescence has succeeded without any other remedies.

Before we make any general remarks upon the foregoing means of affecting the mind through the medium of the body, it may not be uninteresting to some of our readers to know what artifices the ancient priests of Egypt employed to cure melancholics. The priests of France also at Besançon, an ancient, populous, and imposing city in the department of Doubs, when they possessed more power than at present, exercised their ingenuity for a considerable time with great effect to cure *dæmoniacks*, as they were called; thereby to impress the people with an idea of their powerful influence over evil spirits.

Pinel, the amiable and intelligent physician of Bicetre, gives the following description, in the words of his translator, Dr. Davis. As no internal remedies were used, but a system of pompous, ostentatious parade, contrived to impose upon the external senses, neither process appears foreign to our purpose.

“Efforts of industry and of art; scenes of magnificence and grandeur; the varied pleasures of sense; and the imposing influence of a pompous and mysterious superstition, were perhaps never devoted to a more laudable purpose. At both extremities of ancient Egypt, a country which was at that time exceedingly populous and flourishing, were temples dedicated to Saturn, whither melancholics resorted in crowds in quest of relief. The priests, taking advantage of their credulous confidence, ascribed to miraculous powers the effects of natural means exclusively. Games and recreations of all kinds were instituted in these temples; voluptuous paintings and images were everywhere exposed to view. The most enchanting songs, and sounds the most melodious, ‘took prisoner the captive sense.’ Flowery gardens, and groves disposed with taste and art, invited them to refreshing and salubrious exercise. Gaily decorated boats sometimes transported them to breathe, amidst rural concerts, the purer breezes of the Nile. Sometimes they were conveyed to its verdant isles, where, under the symbols of some guardian deity, new and ingeniously contrived entertainments were prepared for their reception. Every moment was devoted to some pleasurable occupation, or rather to a system of diversified amusements, enhanced and sanctioned by superstition. An appropriate and scrupulously observed regimen; excursions to the holy places; preconcerted feasts, at different stages, to excite and keep up their interest on the road, with every other advantage of a similar nature, that the experienced priesthood could invent or command, were in no small degree calculated to suspend the influence of pain, to calm the inquietude of a morbid mind, and to operate salutary changes in the various functions of the system. Those ancient

establishments, so worthy of admiration, but so opposite to the institutions of modern times, point out the objects to be aimed at in every asylum, public or private, for the reception of melancholics."

The following is Pinel's description of the annual solemnities practised at Besançon during the celebration of the feast of St. Suaire, famed for the great number of madmen, or dæmoniaks as they were called, who resorted thither to be cured. "In the presence of an immense crowd of spectators, who were elevated on a spacious amphitheatre, the pretended dæmoniaks were brought forth, guarded by soldiers, and agitated by all the movements and distortions characteristic of raving madness. The priests, in their official habiliments, proceeded with great gravity to their exorcisms. From a distant part of the church, and concealed from view, were heard melodious notes of martial music. Upon a certain signal, a flag stained with blood, with the name of St. Suaire inscribed upon it, was brought out three different times, and hoisted amidst the acclamations of the astonished multitude and the roaring of cannon from the citadel. Upon the minds of the credulous spectators a solemn impression was thus produced, and they cried out with the utmost excess of enthusiasm, *Miracle! miracle!* This pompous spectacle was exhibited once a year by the priests, to show their power over dæmonomania. There were some maniacs who were actually cured by the impression produced by these rituals of fantastic solemnity. Enlightened Medicine knows how to appreciate religious ceremonies of this description; at the same time that it admires the address of priests of all ages, in conciliating the respect and in making impressions upon the minds of the laity."

It may, perhaps, be mere matter of curiosity to revive this description of these ancient methods. To the physiologist, however, and to him who studies the human mind, every fact will be considered valuable, which regards such an important change as the return from insanity to reason; whether this change may have been effected by superstition and the address of priests, or by any other means. It is certainly probable that priestcraft will never again have the power to effect such mighty wonders as the Egyptian solemnities above described formerly produced. So far, therefore, this experience will not conduce to practical good. Princely fortunes and demesnes could scarcely be considered adequate, at the present day, to form establishments on a scale of equal magnitude and splendour with those of the priests of Saturn. But, supposing that the human mind was still subject to the same powerful influence of superstitious awe,

the same means could not be employed—or, even that these were possible, and that decisive benefits resulted, it would be a question of casuistry with some, how far the present enlightened age could recommend them. Besides, it is possible that the effects may have been overrated. And it is not the temper of modern philosophy to give implicit credence to relations of such a nature.

The ceremonies used at the solemnization of the feasts of St. Suaire are perhaps more exceptionable in a moral and practical point of view than those of the ancient heathen prototype.

Now it appears, on considering the several modes of treating insanity which we have been relating, submersion—precipitation into the bath—the affusion of cold water—and the circular swing; that these all operate by giving a direct shock to the system, and by that means producing a change in the state of the sensorium. We cannot reasonably doubt that each of these methods has been attended in many cases with good effects. The evidence in their favour appears to rest on good authority. Lassitude, repose, tranquillity of mind and sleep have been observed to follow from submersion, from the affusion, the warm bath, and from swinging. There must be something, therefore, common to all these in their effects upon the human body. It is to be presumed also, that the fatigue which follows hard labour would naturally compose even the highly excited brain of the maniac, and that some degree of tranquillity would ensue. Physiologists are not ignorant that the exercise of voluntary muscular power wastes or diminishes the natural energy of thought: it also lessens the morbid sensibility of the brain.

That no common cause is sufficient to procure sleep to the disordered mind, is proved by the resistance which, under certain circumstances, it offers to the largest doses of opiates. And that sleep is a cordial of most benign comfort in this afflicted state, will be universally allowed. Whatever means, therefore, produce this Lethæan respite to the maniac's ravings, or to the moping moods of melancholy and despair, must be regarded as of prime importance. But what other means than some of those above stated, have we in our power for accomplishing the same grand object? Internal remedies of the narcotic class, such as the cicuta and hyoscyamus, recommended by Dr. Willis; the stramonium, by Dr. Storck of Vienna; opium, digitalis, and arnica montana by others, are found to be but precarious assistants; and scarcely any prudent physician would push them to the extent that would often seem to be required, through fear of worse consequences than the continuance even of the disease. The notion of the superintendant of The Retreat was indeed shrewd, and

worthy of attention, that a good meal might contribute to allay the feverish excitement of the sensorial organ. His expectation was not disappointed. Sleep often ensued. In this case, the powers of digestion and nutrition requiring a portion of vital energy for the performance of these functions must deprive the bewildered brain of its superabundant measure, making the circle of healthful action in the body more complete.

Sleep, in whatever way produced, is certainly a sovereign restorative after restless and distempered thought:—but instances are not wanting where it naturally visits the diseased mind; and therefore the production of sleep is not the cure of insanity. We are on this account led to appreciate all such agents as have been alluded to, according to their just and true value; not ascribing to the simple immediate effect of any, specific power to remove the disease, or a series of general and successful results.

After all that may have been said in favour of the decisive means of curing insanity, amongst which we desire especially to include that which now engages so much of public attention, in contradistinction to the moral treatment, we apprehend it will be found, in by far the greater number of instances, that the humane and benevolent discipline which is exercised in *The Retreat*, will, by its slow, calm and steady operation, be productive of more lasting benefits in the cure of insanity, than any or all the physical agents we have been considering will accomplish.

At the same time, it may be found of great auxiliary advantage to employ in their excellent system some other modification of the bath than what they have already used. The experience of former ages, and of the present time, goes far to prove the efficacy of such means in occasional instances. It ought not therefore to be lost. According to this view, it appears to us a matter of the greatest importance to ascertain, in all recent cases, the exciting cause of the disorder. This is a most difficult task. The first overt-act is often taken for the immediate cause*: and the friends of the insane are frequently backward in communicating the real truth.

If the causes of insanity may be divided into internal, those which directly affect the mind; and external, the body; it is probable that the latter will be especially influenced by the different means of which we have treated. In the absence of specific remedies, facts like these resemble the temporary artificial lights which we are accustomed to employ to guide us on our way, when the great luminary of nature is withdrawn from our view.

T. H.

* See Tuke's Description, chap. 6.

History of the Colony of Sierra Leone.

[Continued from page 116.]

IN our former Number we left Lieutenant Clarkson at sea, after having cleared Sambre' Light-house, on the 16th of January 1792. It was then said that he had gone on board the *Lucretia* much indisposed, and also that the fever and violent pains in his head increased; so that on the 21st he was no longer able to keep on deck. For ten days afterwards he was in a state of delirium. Once during that time, when the Captain left him to attend his duty in a heavy gale of wind, he found his way out of bed, and rambled he knew not where. The ship was at that time rolling dreadfully. Unable to keep his legs, he fell on the cabin floor, and was there dashing from side to side, when a tremendous sea stove-in one of the dead lights; which occasioned the Captain to go below, where he found him in a state of insensibility covered with blood and bruises, and thus providentially preserved his life.

The sickness, however, was not confined to himself. It had indeed begun with the black people, (for he had taken all such of them as were diseased under his own charge,) but now it spread to the sailors of the ship. On the 24th the seamen of the *Lucretia*, though only eight days before robust and in a perfect state of health, had not strength enough to get up the main yard. On the 26th the Captain and Mate were the only persons capable of doing duty on board her, when the *Felicity*, *Venus*, and *Eleanor* sent her each a man; but it was with some difficulty the seamen from these vessels could be prevailed on to go on board her. It was not till the 15th of February, a month from the day of sailing, that the different people on board might be said to be generally out of danger. On the 22d of that month, when the Lieutenant was pronounced in a mending state, and when some of his faculties began to be restored to him, he had the pain of finding that his favourite black servant, who had constantly attended him night and day, and who had slept by his side during his illness, had caught the fever of him and died; and that Captain Coffin of the *Lucretia*, who had in the most assiduous and tender manner supplied his place, had also shared his fate. But, not to dwell longer on this melancholy scene, we may repeat, that about the 15th of February both the seamen and passengers began to recover. The first use which the Lieutenant made of his

own convalescence, was to perform divine service; though, on account of his feeble state, it was with difficulty he could get through it.

Being now in the latitude of 22 degrees, and the weather fine, the Lieutenant was advised to take an airing in the boat. On his going on board the *Eleanor*, a black woman of 104 years of age, who was blind, begged to be brought upon deck, that she might congratulate him on his recovery. On his entering and leaving the ship, the passengers, who were all in excellent spirits, saluted him with three volleys and three cheers.

On the 5th of March they came into soundings. On the 6th they saw the land, which in a few hours they discovered to be Cape Sierra Leone, bearing SE. by E. distant about five leagues, when the passengers from all the ships gave three cheers. On the 7th they entered the River Sierra Leone itself, where they had the satisfaction of finding all the ships which had parted company except one, but which afterwards arrived. On the 8th, the black Captains of companies from all the Nova Scotia vessels came on board to report to the Lieutenant the particulars of the voyage, and to return him the thanks of those they represented, for the attention and kindness shown them by the captains and crews of the ships during the passage. He was also waited upon by the captains of the transports, who expressed similar sentiments as to the conduct of the Blacks. It appeared on the inspection of the weekly returns delivered in by each captain, that out of 1190 black persons of all descriptions brought from Halifax, 65 had died on the passage, among whom Adam Abernethe, John Bell, and Peter Richards were particularly esteemed and lamented by the Lieutenant. This was the first time since his illness that he had been made acquainted with their death; and the shock on hearing it was so great upon his then exhausted frame, that for two hours he remained in a state of total insensibility.

Care was now taken to land the colonists, with their tools and furniture, as expeditiously as was consistent with their health and safety. The returns of stores, provisions, &c. expended on board the different ships were inspected, and regular accounts were taken of what remained of each article. This was effected in a few days; so that all the fifteen vessels were discharged with the least possible expense to Government, there being only demurrage for six vessels, which arrived at Sierra Leone before the Lieutenant.—The provisions, stores, &c. remaining over and above what had been consumed on the voyage, Lieutenant Clarkson took upon himself to give the free Blacks as a reward for their good behaviour since the time of their embarkation;

and he wrote accordingly to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, to signify the manner in which he had disposed of them, and his reasons for so doing. It is necessary to mention the preceding circumstances, and indeed to lay a stress upon them, because they fully confirm the fact, that *whatever good character the Nova Scotian Blacks had when they left Halifax, they brought it with them to Africa.*

It may now be brought to the remembrance of the reader, that when Lieutenant Clarkson volunteered his services for the expedition, he undertook only to collect the Black people in Nova Scotia, and to proceed with them as far as Sierra Leone, and to leave them there. It was then in the contemplation of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to appoint Henry Hew Dalrymple, an officer in His Majesty's army, as their Superintendent or Governor. Since that time they had changed their mind on that subject, and had determined upon confiding the government of the colony to Lieutenant Clarkson, if he would accept it. Accordingly they wrote a letter to the latter, which they sent by the ship Harpy, to meet him on his arrival in Africa, and to notify this change in their measures. This letter contained most ample instructions for his conduct. It informed him also, that the Government was to consist of a Superintendent and seven Council. By the same vessel, most of those who were to act as Counsellors went out also. Another vessel, called the Amy, followed. The Harpy having arrived first upon the coast, those on board her kept a daily look-out for the Lieutenant; and when they saw him entering the river with a part of his little fleet, two of the Counsellors rowed out to meet him, and to acquaint him with his new appointment. They invited him to take up his residence on board the Harpy; but learning from them that there had been nothing but quarrelling among themselves on their voyage, which was too evident by the asperity with which they spoke of each other, he declined accepting their offer, and took up his abode on board the Amy, which was then lying in the same river. Here he experienced a considerable struggle in his own mind, whether he ought to accept the Government or not. His health was in such a state as to require rest and change of climate; and he had ever since he began to recover, flattered himself with the hope, that his labours would be at an end upon his arrival in Africa. He had also been led from the commencement of the business to consider the importance of his mission, and how necessary it was for him to use his utmost endeavours to perform it in a manner suitable to the high character of the Directors, and with a regard to the

most rigid economy and regularity* ; and having concluded what he had undertaken in a manner which he hoped would be creditable to himself as well as to the Directors, he was unwilling to blend his services with others, as, from what he had seen since his arrival in Africa, he was fully convinced that by so doing he should only entail certain disgrace upon himself. His weak state of health, and want of preparation for such an undertaking, were also great inducements to him to decline the office of the Government. On the other hand, when he considered the pressing and flattering letters he received, upon his arrival, from the Directors ; the affection he bore the Nova Scotians for their regular conduct, their reliance upon him, and the hope that he should be enabled to realize those promises which he had made them in America ; and when, moreover, he added to these considerations those of his own ardent desire for the civilization of Africa, and the confidence he felt, from what he had seen of the natives, that he should be able to win their esteem by a candid and open conduct ; he found he had no power left but to accept the solicitations of the Directors by undertaking the Government of the colony, though even under the disadvantages above described.

One of the first measures which the Superintendent took (for we must now designate him by that appellation) was to provide for the public exercise of religion. Accordingly, finding that a house, which the Harpy had brought over in frame, had been erected on shore by direction of the Council previously to his arrival, he ordered it, as the first and only one there, to be fitted up for public worship. This was done so expeditiously, that on Sunday the 11th of March, only three days after the *Lucretia* came in, Mr. Gilbert, an estimable clergyman of the establishment, and who had been sent over by the Directors, preached in it. His text consisted of the following words : " Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it." The Superintendent, the Council, and all the Colony were present.

There was no one thing (as far as temporal matters were

* He had been such a rigid economist for the Company, that the bill delivered in to the Directors, for his own expenses from the time of leaving London to the present, which included the payment of his passage from London to Halifax, the rent of house and wages of servants there, the travelling expenses of Mr. Taylor and himself to Shelburn and other places, the payment of stationery, copying and printing advertisements, together with that of money advanced to Thomas Peters for his support at New Brunswick, and to make him and his family comfortable on the passage, and for stores for himself and Mr. Taylor for the voyage from Halifax to Sierra Leone, amounted only to 289*l.* 6*s.*

concerned) about which the Superintendent was more solicitous, than that the Nova Scotian settlers should have the allotments of land, which had been promised them by the Company, *as early as possible*. Accordingly, *on the very day of his arrival*, sick and feeble as he was, he gave the Surveyor who had come out in the Harpy, a plan for laying them out, and urged him strongly to carry it into execution as soon as ever circumstances would permit. This order he *deemed essential to the peace and harmony of the Colony*; for they, who now principally composed it, had been promised their allotments in Nova Scotia, year after year, but had never obtained them; and the non-fulfilment of this promise *had given birth there to general discontent*.

When the settlers were landed, they were put under tents made with the sails and spars belonging to the Company's vessels. After this, they raised themselves huts, which were constructed of stakes driven into the ground. These stakes supported others at the top, which were covered with the long grass of the country, and the sides and ends were wattled and plastered with clay. These habitations, however, being unable to stand against the approaching tornados, were considered only as temporary, or to last till their town (to be called *Free Town*) was built. The site of this had been already fixed upon. It was that which had been occupied by Mr. Sharp's settlers before they were driven to Granville Bay. It was thought preferable to all others on account of its local advantages: but both here and almost every where else, the country appeared from the shore to the mountain-tops to be one impenetrable forest; so that it was impossible to get at the place for the town, or to possess the allotments so as to use them profitably, but through the medium of severe labour. Though the site in question had been well cleared only five years before, it was then over-run with brush-wood more than twelve feet high, so as almost to forbid any one to pass through it. That the reader may be enabled to conjecture how inaccessible some of these forests were, we shall give him a description of only two sorts of trees which were found in the neighbourhood*. The silk cotton tree sent out as it were large massy laminas from its trunk, like so many wooden pillars or buttresses. One of these trunks, when measured across at the height of five feet from the ground, proved to be 68 feet in circumference. Another tree of a very different kind had the property of letting down from its top branches certain shoots, which came straight and without leaves to the ground. When

* This description belongs rather to King Jammy's territory in the neighbourhood, than to the Colony itself.

arrived there they entered the earth and struck root. Thus the tree itself was bound fast on all sides, as it were by so many wooden cables, so that no tornado could shake it, nor could any one approach it till he had first cut down the living palisades which presented themselves before it.

Discouraging as was the prospect of clearing the woods, the Nova Scotian settlers worked freely, and made the whole forest resound with their axes. The attendant Surveyor was so much pleased with their conduct, that on the 12th of March he reported it to the Superintendent, *with the highest encomiums both upon their industry and sobriety*. As an instance of the latter, he stated that a company of between 70 and 80 men, who had worked under him, *had drunk only three bottles of rum per day, diluted with water, though they had been left to help themselves*. On the 25th of March, after having worked in this manner, the progress they had made began to show itself. 560 yards in length had been cleared along the shore, and 200 in breadth towards the mountains; and a road began to be seen winding round a hill, in order to save the steep and abrupt path by which it was ascended before.

While the Nova Scotian settlers were thus employed in the woods, they had the opportunity of knowing some of their wild inhabitants. On the 21st of March, at about four in the morning, a leopard made its appearance. A man who was coming from the neighbouring thicket saw it pass him towards the huts. He followed it; and perceiving it to stop and smell near his own hut, in which his wife and children were asleep, with the door open, he screamed out. A general shout soon after followed; upon which the beast immediately fled back into the forest. On the 27th, a very large baboon of the Chimpanzee sort (which sort can walk erect for a short way upon their hind legs, and when at their full growth measure five feet high from the ground,) came very early in the morning to a settler's hut. He went in and laid hold of the leg of a young female, and attempted to drag her away from the bed on which she lay. The father of the girl, roused by her cries, flew to her assistance. He began to seize the arm of his daughter, and to pull the contrary way. In the mean time several of the other settlers came up; when the baboon himself took fright, and escaped through them all to his old haunts. He would have been shot by one of the visitors, had not the father, alarmed for the safety of his child, prevailed upon the latter to desist. Other instances occurred of wild animals coming into the neighbourhood of the huts, but it would be trespassing upon our limits to mention them, 'There is an ac-

count however, of a chameleon, which, as it is given in a very clear and lively manner, we shall extract out of our Journal* for the gratification of the reader. "A chameleon has been caught here. It is a curious animal, something like a lizard; but its body is strongly compressed on its sides, so as to form its back and belly into edges. It is constantly changing its colour, apparently owing to its different sensations. Thus I have observed, when irritated and in the dark, it is of a dusky grayish blue or black. When exposed to broad day, and not frightened, it assumes more gay colours. It changes to a dark green with black spots, which spots change both their shapes and dispositions, and at other times to a light pea-green, with or without darker spots, and these either all over or only on one of its sides. This colour it can turn again into a kind of greenish yellow, and at last into a perfectly bright straw colour, with or without black or green spots. But it has never been seen to assume the colour of red or white. It is kept in a basket with many openings, in which sugar is laid to attract the flies. Upon these he feeds. He thrusts out his tongue, and snatches with incredible swiftness all visitors of that kind who come within three inches of his mouth. In the motion of his body he is as slow as possible. His feet, like the claws of a parrot, enable him to climb; in addition to which he has the help of his long tail, which he can coil up and twist round a stick. His eyes are wonderfully made. They are very prominent, but covered all round up to the top of the ball with an eye-lid of many annular muscles close together, so that he can roll his eyes round in all directions, pointing one in one direction, and the other in another, but only one of them at a time. The ancients thought he subsisted only upon air; but this one eats flies, and also soaked bread, and passes excrements. Its head is compressed so as to be flat at the top. It has a wide swallow, a broad tongue forked, and a wide hollow paunch under the neck, which is set apparently with blunt and short prickles of flesh. The animal is very lean, and its long and convexly bent ribs easily felt. The tail is compressed on the sides, and tapering. The two fore legs bend forward, and the hinder backward."

On the 27th of March, King Naimbanna, accompanied by his vassals, Seignior Domingo and King Jammy, came to the Settlement by invitation, and dined with the Superintendant on shore. King Jammy had been seriously alarmed on seeing such multitudes of people, as the Nova Scotian Settlers seemed to be,

* This Journal was written by Mr. Strand, Secretary to the Superintendant and Council.

landed from the ships which brought them ; but when after this he had seen them all busily employed and offending no one, he had in some measure laid aside his fears, and had ventured to become one of the party on this occasion. Accustomed, however, to nothing but trick from those Europeans with whom he had been concerned, and having been taught by their conduct to take advantage whenever he could, he brought up after dinner the transaction which had taken place four years before, when some of his people were killed through the agency of Captain Bowie, of the Slave Factory of Bence Island, and demanded of the Superintendent a payment of goods as a satisfaction for the same. This caused a Palaver or Council to be held immediately, in which both King Jammy and the Superintendent were heard in turn. The King was soon overcome in the argument as it related to Captain Bowie, when he instantly took new ground. He contended that they, the Nova Scotians, had come there under the protection of the King of England, whose frigate the Pomona had fired upon his town ; and that as they occupied the ground of Mr. Sharp's Settlers, and had therefore taken their place, they were to be considered as party in the damages, and to make them good accordingly. In this argument also he was defeated : and here the matter would have rested, but the Superintendent happening to say that his people, the Nova Scotian Settlers, were very different from those concerned in the Slave Trade, and that they had *new views and plans*, and intended to start upon *new principles*, King Jammy laid hold of his expressions, and contended that, *if they were to begin afresh, they ought to purchase the land afresh*. Upon this the Superintendent produced the Title Deeds, or Instruments of Purchase of the Land for the King of England, by Captain Thompson, which was signed by himself (King Jammy) and others present, and in which were enumerated and acknowledged the goods received in consideration for it. The unexpected production of this document had a powerful effect, for it gave birth to a sort of feeling of shame in those concerned in it. It was then allowed that the Nova Scotian Settlers had nothing to do either with Captain Bowie's conduct, or that of the Pomona. We have given the above as a specimen of savage cunning under the instructing practices of the Slave Trade.

On the 29th of March, in the evening, several guns were heard from King Jammy's town. This, after the conversation which had taken place on the 27th, occasioned considerable alarm. The Nova Scotians of their own accord all flew to arms, under which they continued for some time. At length they dispersed,

but not till they had left a sufficient number of sentinels to keep a good look-out. It was ascertained afterwards, that the firing was in consequence of some religious ceremonies which had been then performed. On this day the rainy seasons announced their approach, by a cloudy sky covering the tops of the neighbouring mountains.

On the 2d of April squalls of wind came on, at about three in the morning, with heavy torrents of rain. Several claps of thunder, repeated by the deep roaring echoes of the mountains, had an awful effect. Several of the huts of the Settlers were damaged by it in the thatch. This tornado was followed by another on the 4th. After this every thing made of steel began to be affected. Knives, scissars, and keys looked like rusty iron. Linen, also, began to be damp, and, unless aired, to look as if it was mouldy, and many of the watches in the Colony were rendered useless.

On Sunday, the 8th of April, the Superintendant having attended divine service, retired to his quarters on board the *Amy*. While on shore, a letter was put into his hands by one of the Nova Scotians, in which it was stated that Thomas Peters, so often before mentioned, wished to be master of the Colony. This letter he put into his pocket, and did not read it till after his return to the ship. Upon learning its contents, he ordered out the boat, and arming himself went on shore. He then desired the great bell to be rung to call the Settlers together. They assembled, and Peters among the rest. He then addressed them, but particularly the latter. Those concerned explained themselves in the following manner: "They had many subjects, they said, to speak upon to the Governor, and expected to have still more. They did not wish, therefore, all of them to trouble him, and particularly in his then enfeebled state of health; wherefore they had chosen Peters to be their chairman or chief speaker on such occasions, and him the more especially, as it was through his intercession and interest that they had removed from Nova Scotia. To this purpose 132 of them had signed a paper, which paper Peters himself last night had sent to the Governor." The Superintendant having heard this explanation replied. They also replied in their turn. They could not, however, be brought to acknowledge that they had been in the wrong; yet they were "much hurt, they said, to think that they had vexed the Governor by their conduct. They begged of him, with much tenderness, not to expose himself any longer to the evening air. He had already fatigued himself by talking to them, and might injure himself still more. They appealed to him for their good and in-

nocent intentions. They had been much misrepresented (alluding to the letter sent him), and promised implicit obedience to his commands." After this they separated. A few, however, of those who were attached to Peters, manifested afterwards some resentment against the persons suspected of having criminated the latter with the Superintendent. This spirit, however, subsided in the course of the evening, and the parties withdrew. Whether Peters ever really entertained the desperate and impracticable project of seizing the Government, no one can take upon him to say. On the one hand it must be allowed, that from the attention which had been shown him by persons of consideration while he was acting as Deputy for the Nova Scotian Blacks in London, he had imbibed high notions of his own consequence. He always wished his brethren to believe, that whatever had been done for them had been done by his own power only; and he was therefore mortified when he found that the Superintendent had always more influence with the Black people than himself. On the other hand, if the Black people had any complaints to make to the Superintendent through the medium of any one of their own body, who so proper as the man whom they had before deputed to England in their own behalf?—Let it be remembered too, that when they were all in storehouses and barracks at Halifax, the Superintendent had himself appointed Peters and others to be the bearer to him of all the complaints of his brethren; nor ought we to omit to mention, that the paper in question, which had been signed by such numbers, was only a petition, and that it was signed among others by David George, a most respectable minister of the Anabaptist persuasion, and a man generally esteemed for his truly christian character. Under these circumstances, it is perhaps difficult to say what was the real motive of Peters on this occasion; whether he actually aimed at the Government; or whether only, amidst the number of complaints and requests which were to be almost daily made to the higher powers, he wished only to preserve the rank of Deputy, a rank to which he had been appointed by his brethren. It is certain that the Superintendent never thought him guilty of the motive imputed to him, but yet he considered it prudent to keep his eye upon him from this time.

After this the rains began to be more frequent and the showers heavier. On the 13th the earth for the first time appeared to be wet and soaked through. Tornados also followed in quick succession, and on the 17th at midnight one more violent than the former burst forth. The thermometer was then at 72°. In the morning the military tent was found upset, and several of the

huts, a part of which only had been yet erected, materially damaged. As to the morning itself, it was uncommonly gloomy. The air afterwards, however, became gradually clear; when the scene seemed to be quite reversed. "The woods," says the Journal, "which an hour ago distressed the eye with their sullen and dismal appearance, and the ground scattered with fragments of huts, exhibiting marks of devastation, now at the presence of the sun assume a different appearance. The former seem more fresh and beautiful than ever, and the poorest huts smile as it were at having generally weathered the danger. Who wonders that savages should adore the sun, of whose benign influence they are so often and so forcibly put in mind?"

On the 24th the Superintendant sent the Rev. Mr. Gilbert to England with dispatches to the Directors. On the 28th, at night, a tornado more tremendous than any of the former came on. The lightning was dreadful. It flashed almost continually and sometimes for ten minutes together, appearing like cataracts of fire rushing from the sky. The rain lasted till ten in the morning, which was very cold. The thermometer was then at 72°. The Nova Scotians began now to be disheartened. They were fearful that they should not be able to finish their own temporary huts, and much less the roads, wharfs, storehouses, and other public works, before the rainy season was actually on. They were stimulated, however, to perseverance. The Lapwing sloop was kept constantly going for poles and thatch, and they received every other assistance that could be given them towards the furtherance of their labours.

The 29th, being the first Sunday after the departure of Mr. Gilbert, the Superintendant performed divine service, which office he continued to fill as long as the regular clergyman was absent. For the better observation, however, of this day, he proposed afterwards to the Settlers that they should neither buy nor sell, nor trade with any of the natives upon it. A regulation of this sort, he observed, if persevered in, would not only break the latter from the custom, after they had returned a few times with their goods unsold, but, by inducing them to inquire into the reason why all traffic was thus prohibited, would teach them to know something of the cause and nature of the Sabbath. Such a regulation, too, might be made favourable to their own moral improvement. The Settlers agreed to the proposition; the consequence of which was, that the following Sunday was observed in this manner. This took place on the 13th of May; and this therefore may be said to be the first Sabbath instituted in that part of Africa according to the custom of professing Christians of the Protestant persuasion.

The Nova Scotians were now more disheartened than ever, and began to relax in their labour, and to complain. Certain circumstances had brought them into this situation, originating principally in the conduct of some of the Company's servants towards them. On the 12th, however, of the month of May, to which period we have now brought up our History, the Council seeing the ruinous tendency of the system as it then stood, gave up voluntarily a portion of their authority. They retained, however, their seats in council. The Superintendent, though still in an enfeebled state of health, availed himself immediately of this partial abdication to endeavour to change the face of things. His attention was directed, first, to the better mustering of the people at their work. This office had been greatly neglected, and the Company had suffered on that account. Ill therefore as he was, he superintended for a while the workmen himself. He made also a new regulation, by which he divided the labourers into three parts, under proper captains. To this change the Nova Scotians most willingly assented, furnishing him at the same time with proofs of their attachment both to the Company and himself. After this their work was performed with more constancy, order, and efficiency. He put the store-houses, and the manner of issuing from thence, under certain rules. He suppressed the allowance of rum to soldiers' wives; which had been going on without his knowledge; and, finally, knowing that one of the chief causes of complaint was the non-allotment of the land, a plan for which he had given out on the first day of his arrival, he called a Council for taking into consideration the easiest and best manner of forwarding that business; but, the Surveyor being ill, the consideration of the subject was adjourned to another day.

About the latter end of this month (May) the tornado season ended, and the rainy began. After this it rained most part of the day. The sky was seldom free from clouds. It was generally very cold in the morning, and very hot in the afternoon, the thermometer varying from 74° to 84° within this time. Hence colds, rheumatisms, and fevers. Most of the gentlemen of the Council were taken ill, as also the inferior whites. The sickness at length began to affect the Nova Scotians; and it became so general, and the confusion in consequence so great, that no Journal was kept from the 6th of June to the 2d of July. There were not less than four to five hundred persons sick at a time within this period. The situation of the Colony was indeed truly deplorable. There were only two medical men able to attend the whole of the sick, some of whom died for want of that assistance which it was impossible to afford them. Other causes

contributed to their distress. Several of those who had been intrusted with the charge and distribution of the provisions from the stores, were either dead or dying. The consequence of this was, that the sick could not get the necessary supplies, and some of them actually died on that account. Under these awful circumstances, almost the whole weight of the duty devolved on the Superintendant. To remedy the latter evil, he divided the people into four classes, and picked out four officers, who were in better health than the rest, to take charge of them. The Storekeeper had then directions to furnish these with every kind of article they might request, that could afford comfort to any of the people under their care. Nor was it by these regulations only that he endeavoured to remove their distresses. He contributed in no small degree to this end by his own personal exertions, which were never relaxed, while his health permitted him, during the whole of this severe season. Of the whites who were so seized it may be observed, that no one escaped death, who had lived in the skirts of the town next to the woods; and of the sickness itself, that it was less prevalent in the shipping than in the town.

On the 1st of July, Thomas Peters, of whom so much has been said, paid his debt to nature among others; but his death was said to have been occasioned by chagrin and disappointment.

On the 13th the ship *Duke of Savoy* arrived. She brought dispatches from the Directors, by which the authority of the existing Council was done away, and the Superintendant intrusted with the sole command. The latter was now to take the title of Governor. On the 30th there was a considerable fermentation among the Nova Scotians about the laying out of their allotments. Nothing, unfortunately, had been yet done in this department. It began to be rumoured also, that they were to be excluded from certain capes on the banks of the river, which contained the best soil. On the 4th of August, therefore, the Governor assembled them, and consulted with them on the subject. A plan was marked out upon paper, which was approved of by all parties. They then drew for their lots as there numbered, and were satisfied with the result of their chance. This plan was to be put into execution as soon as the weather would permit. He satisfied them also as to the land upon the capes. To make this day still more memorable, he united the Granville Bay settlers to the colony. They had for a long time been kept out of it under pain of punishment, on account of the profligacy of their morals. They had now the opportunity of intercourse with it, and of the benefit of its protection and government.

Matters had not been long settled in this pleasing manner, when a distressing occurrence happened. On the 11th of August arrived the ship *Calypso*, with 153 passengers belonging to the unfortunate expedition to Bulama, from whence they had been driven by the natives. They were in want of provisions, and in a very sickly state. The ship exhibited the state of a crowded prison. Several of the passengers wished to settle in the place, but this request was not complied with. Some of them, however, out of pure humanity, were permitted to come on shore, and the wants of all were relieved as far as it was possible to do it. Above thirty of them died during the month the vessel lay in the river. The miserable scene which this occurrence exhibited, could not fail of affecting the Governor; and the vexation and anxiety he experienced in consequence are not to be described: but he was still more alarmed on account of the contagion of their morals. There were doubtless estimable persons among them; but many of those who had landed, conducted themselves in such a manner as to make him fearful of the consequences of any thing like a residence in the place.

On the 1st of September the Governor ordered the laying out of the allotments to be begun. Almost incessant rains, from the 4th of August, had prevented any attempt of this sort till this period. This measure diffused a general joy among the settlers.

On the 4th, the Rev. Mr. Horne and Mr. Dawes arrived from England; the first as Chaplain, and the second as Assistant Counsel to the Governor. The Directors, as we have stated before, had done away the old Government. The new one was to consist of a Governor and two Council only, and of the latter Mr. Dawes was to be the first.

About the 20th of September the rainy season was considered as over. A muster of the colony having taken place, it appeared that most of the European mechanics were then dead. Of the Nova Scotian settlers, there were counted 290 men, 275 women, and 430 children. Several of the latter had been born in the colony; so that, in the short space of nine months, there were lost of those who embarked at Halifax, including the mortality at sea, above 200 persons. June and July had proved the most fatal months in the year.

After this the weather began to grow warmer, and to push on vegetation rapidly. The gardens of the settlers (for a small piece of ground was attached to each hut) assumed a new appearance. They had been sown with seeds brought from Halifax, such as pumpkins, purslain, sage, thyme, beans, and cabbages of various kinds. It is remarkable that those sent out to them from England had

generally failed. Had not the Nova Scotians taken the precaution to bring their own seeds with them, they would have experienced a great difference in the quantity of their vegetable produce.

On the 25th, as the Surveyor was going on with his work of laying out the lots of land, he was interrupted by the natives, who demanded a palaver or council. It was agreed to hold this the next day. Accordingly, King Naimbanna, King Jammy, Seignior Domingo, Pah Will, and others of the natives attended. The following is a concise account of it. King Jammy began with the old story of the land, but took new ground, by taking a new view of the subject. He admitted that the district had been purchased by Captain Thompson; but he now contended, that the money had been paid to King Tomb, Queen Yamacoo-bra, and another person, no one of whom had either authority to sell the lands or receive the money. Upon this King Naimbanna laid some stress; but almost immediately added, that although he himself had not been called down on the occasion, nor received any part of the purchase-goods, he could not but consider the bargain as valid. The instrument of purchase was then brought out and read, when the King repeated that it was a fair bargain, and that he himself had ratified it. King Jammy having been thus overruled by King Naimbanna, the party who supported the former touched upon a new string, which showed in fact their motives for the palaver, or where their feelings lay. They expressed their uneasiness at seeing roads cut through the woods, and passing through their towns and plantations. One of these, they said, was intended to be carried westward to False Cape. They considered this only as a prelude to taking possession of the whole cape and country.—To this the Governor replied, by assuring them that no such road as that spoken of was intended.—They then stated, that though the English had a right by purchase to the district extending from St. George's Bay to the coast opposite to Gambia Island, those who lived within this district would be subject to perpetual alarms if it were cleared and laid open. They considered the woods as their only security and shelter in time of war, whether they were at war among themselves or with the white people. Their plantations also would be rendered insecure. They proposed therefore to the Governor, that he should give up the sea-coast from Forra Bay, where the line of division would run up the country better. This line, they acknowledged, would put Granville Town out of the possession of the Company; but, to indemnify the latter, they would allow the Nova Scotians to carry their lines as far into the interior as they chose. The Governor

stated in answer to this, that when he received orders in England to go out to Sierra Leone, a map had been shown him, which marked out all the Company's boundaries, and that he was accountable for preserving them. With respect to the inland parts to be given up as an equivalent, he observed, that these might be full of people having towns and plantations, who would have the same objections as to insecurity of persons and property as those which had been stated. Besides, the carriage of the produce to be raised in these inland parts would be a serious concern, as they would lie so far from the river side. He observed, again, that before he brought the Nova Scotians to Sierra Leone, he had promised them faithfully that they should have a certain extent of river-side, with the full benefit of it, and that he had renewed to them this promise since his arrival there. Upon this, King Jammy turned the attention of the palaver to a different part of the district in question. He wished to have that part of the land back, which was situated to the west of the rivulet at the old landing-place. Were this returned to him, the colony would still have the sole benefit and command of the watering-place; and he conceived he was entitled to this, as it contained a piece of holy ground at the fountain-head of the small water, whither all the natives resorted once a year to make sacrifices to a large black snake, living under one of the trees, for the continuance of the fountain, which otherwise would dry up and distress the country. The Governor again replied.—He stated, that if this little bit of ground were really a serious object with him, he would not interfere with their religion, but he would fence it in, and take care that none of his people should disturb it. Here the council or palaver broke up. It was resumed, however, the next day; but we shall satisfy ourselves by saying, that matters were then amicably arranged, and both parties apparently satisfied, without any diminution of the Company's limits.

About the 9th of October, the rains being over, the second tornado season began. Soon after this, tribes of black ants appeared in myriads, and carried all before them. These little animals penetrated the huts, and swarmed impetuously over every thing. Crickets, cockroaches, and spiders coming out of the crevices, were overwhelmed and suffocated by them in an instant. They moved as quick and irresistible as a torrent over the ground, and devoured every thing in their way. One day a settler, just as he was opening his door, heard something slap down from the inside roof to the ground. On looking to the place from whence the sound proceeded, he saw a large green

snake, some fingers thick, winding along the floor. He called for help, but the snake was soon gone. He had been frightened up to the roof of the hut by the ants above mentioned, which had pursued himself so closely, that he was obliged to fly as fast as possible, or he had been eaten up. The settlers, when they see that these ants mean to pass through their houses, try to stop their progress by fire or boiling water, as it would be impossible otherwise to turn these swarms either to the right or to the left out of their intended track. There is also a species of red ants. These nestle upon trees like wasps. They are implacable enemies to the black. A few of the former will in a moment put a host of the latter to flight.

The Nova Scotians, as soon as their health permitted, had returned to their work. By this time poultry had increased to abundance, and several boats had been built for fishing. By the 21st of October the Anabaptist and Methodist meeting-houses had been finished. On the 30th, the first swallow was seen. On the 31st, Mr. Field, an excellent man, opened a public school for the children of the settlers, to which those of the natives were invited. The natives now out of curiosity, and this almost daily, visited the place.

On the 13th of November, a considerable portion of ground having been cleared, and several of the allotments marked out, the Governor, in company with Mr. Dawes and others, went to the top of one of the neighbouring hills. On their way thither, which was very steep, they stopped at a brook and took some refreshment. The spot is described as enchanting. The brook was obstructed by large rocks, and in one place a large flat rock lay across it, over which the water spread in a romantic manner. Above the brook were other rocks, from the sides of which came down cascades, which, when seen through the branches of the trees, produced a fine effect. When up the hill they had the richest view imaginable, first, of the ocean; then of the noble river, with the shipping riding at anchor below their feet; then of the fine islands rising out of the bosom of the latter; and lastly, of the adjacent country covered with the richest verdure as far as the eye could carry. Here they dined; and a concourse of Nova Scotians accompanying them, the Governor, assisted by his first counsellor Mr. Dawes, delivered in form, in the presence of all, the grants of forty lots to forty families, the first that were ready, according to the plan which, it has been before said, was agreed upon on the 4th of August. The Governor called the place *Director's Hill* on the occasion.

We must stop to observe here, and the reader will doubtless

recollect it, that the Governor, when at Halifax, promised the Nova Scotians that the allotments intended for them in Africa should be laid out immediately on their arrival there. As houses, however, and storehouses were naturally to be erected first; as the land also, which contrary to expectation consisted of one vast forest, was to be cleared before it could be usefully occupied; and as the rains which came in their accustomed season, and the sickness which followed, interrupted the progress of labour, he found it impossible to perform the promise he had given them. That something more might have been done in this department than was found to have been done on the 13th of November, the day we have now been speaking of, is unquestionable; but no blame was ever imputed to him by any one, not even by those who were most affected by the disappointment. We must observe also, that he promised to every man 20 acres of land, and a certain further portion to every woman and child. But even this promise it would have been injurious to realize, could he have done it, to its full extent. Had every family been settled upon the full quantity of land to which it was entitled, the Nova Scotians would have been scattered over more than half of the Company's whole domain. Hence the family, which would have been reckoned the first in going up the river, would have been a great distance from the last on the same bank. Now at this time the slave-trade was raging all around them. One source of its supply was the kidnapping, or the seizing of persons by main force. The settlers in question were of the same colour as the natives, and therefore equally, and indeed more saleable. Had they therefore been scattered over the district as supposed, they had fallen in time an easy prey to native marauders. The Governor, therefore, judged it absolutely necessary for the preservation of individuals, and ultimately of the colony itself, that no more land should be given to each family, at the first distribution of it, than would enable the settlers to live within a compass, which should afford a proper and seasonable proximity to each other for their mutual defence. Accordingly, when he gave the forty lots above mentioned to the forty families, he gave only about five acres of land to each. In signing, however, the grants for these, he took care to insert in them, that every occupier had a claim upon the Company for a further portion. With this arrangement they were all satisfied, no one considering it as any breach of his promise.

We must observe again that, when he was in Nova Scotia, he promised them their lands, subject to "such terms, charges, and

obligations, with a general view to the prosperity of the Company, as should hereafter be settled by the said Company;" and that when called upon there publicly to explain these terms and charges, he and Mr. Hartshorn both rejected the idea of a *rent*, which the enemies of the expedition had annexed to them *by way of impediment to it*, and gave an opinion that they meant only a tax or impost for charitable purposes, the expenses of which were not to fall upon the Company, but upon themselves. *Under the faith of this explanation* it may be recollected that *the Nova Scotians embarked with him*. Accordingly, when he gave them the 40 lots in question, he gave them subject to the printed conditions of the Company, as so understood. A considerable time however after this, when they had been all settled upon a fifth of their lands, and under a new Governor, the Directors demanded of them the payment of a *quit rent*, they having determined upon this interpretation of the words "terms and charges" about three months after the Governor had left London for Halifax. This new explanation, when sent over, occasioned, as may easily be supposed, no small degree of murmuring in the colony. Indeed the Nova Scotians never forgot it. "*This*," the quit rent, say the Directors in their Report for 1801, accounting for what was termed the rebellion in that year, "*was the chief matter of complaint*," and it was found afterwards so repugnant to the Nova Scotians, that the Directors finally gave it up. It has been thought proper to make this statement, because some little omission has been thought to attach to both parties on this occasion. Against the Governor it has been said, that he had no right to give any interpretation of the clause in question. But he would reply to this, that had he declined giving an explanation when it was *publicly demanded of him* in Nova Scotia, he would have been confirming the unjust suspicions which had been propagated by the enemies of the Company, and the object of the expedition had been frustrated, and Government obliged to perform their engagement for a large expenditure without any thing beneficial being accomplished. Thus situated, he felt it his duty to reply to these calumnious insinuations, and he hesitated not a moment in giving the explanation which both Mr. Hartshorn and himself considered the most rational construction of the views of the Directors. Besides, he conceived that he possessed a discretionary power to act as he then did. The following extract from Mr. Williams's (the Secretary to the Sierra Leone Company) letter to him, conveying his instructions, is sufficient to justify his conduct on this occasion; "Wishing you a pleasant voyage,

and praying for a happy issue to the business you so liberally undertake, the Directors commit all other matters to your own immediate discretion, in which they profess to have the fullest confidence." It has been said again, that if the Governor thought it right so to interpret the clause, he ought to have informed the Directors that he had done so, and they would have abided by this his pledge of their meaning, and no mischief would have arisen afterwards. To this he would reply, that as he had himself never entertained the notion of a quit rent, so neither could he imagine that such was ever in the contemplation of the Directors, and consequently any communication to them on the subject would have been superfluous. Add to this, that though he did not tell the Directors in so many words when he wrote to them, that he had given the explanation mentioned, yet he did nearly what amounted to the same thing; for he sent them on the 12th of November 1791 the Halifax newspapers, where they would see that the enemies of the expedition had interpreted the words "*charges and obligations*" to mean a rent, in order to set the Black people against it; and he informed them at the same time, that these were reading the newspapers in question to the same Black people, for the purpose just mentioned, in every part of the town. Hence it was to be naturally inferred by the Directors, that, if they had proposed a rent to the Nova Scotians, the latter had never accepted of their terms. These newspapers, however, did not reach England till some weeks after the Directors had given their final explanation of the clause. Against the Directors it has been urged, on the other hand, that they ought not to have sent out the Governor without full instructions on this subject; or, if he was obliged to sail without them, they should have sent them after him as soon as they could, so as to have enabled him to lay clearly and explicitly before the Nova Scotians one of the main conditions on which they were to hold their lands. The Directors would say in reply, that they took the clause into consideration as speedily after the Governor's departure as they well could; and that, having agreed that the "*terms and charges*" should consist of a quit rent, they sent their explanation of them to the Governor by the Harpy, which of course did not reach him till after his arrival in Africa; and then it was too late for him to retract the construction which he had given to the clause in question.

But to return. The Governor on the 13th of November distributed, as we have seen, 40 lots of land to 40 families, of about 5 acres each, and subject to the conditions above described. To this we may add, that the Surveyor was ordered to keep stead-

fastly to his work, and that 70 other lots of the same size were expected to be given to other 70 families before the end of the year.

On the 16th, having two weeks before made known his intention of going to England, he thought it right to introduce Mr. Dawes, his assistant counsel, and who was to be his temporary successor, in a particular manner to the good will of the Nova Scotians; and in this kind office he persevered, going every evening from hut to hut, and omitting nothing on his part to leave him in favour with the people.

On the 20th, the fogs, or smokes as they are called, consisting of heavy exhalations from the earth after the rains, were first seen. They prevailed less at Free Town than on the islands in the river and on the lower lands. They made their appearance in the morning, then retired, and returned in the evening. The interval between them was very hot. They began gradually to diminish after the 1st of December, and in a few days after this they went finally away.

On the 13th of December a settler's hut was burnt down. Another had been destroyed only three weeks before in the same manner, and from the same cause, viz. by making fires to stop the progress of those terrible animals, the black ants, which were impetuously rushing towards the doors.

On the 16th, the Governor, being about to leave the Colony, preached a farewell sermon to the inhabitants, in which he gave the Settlers, as their several situations required, appropriate advice.

[To be continued.]

The Cheap Magazine: a Work of humble Import, yet claiming the Attention of all Ranks, as having for its Object the Prevention of Crimes, and being calculated to ensure the Peace, Comfort, and Security of Society, by alluring the Young and Thoughtless to a Taste of reading Subjects of real Utility, having a Tendency to counteract the baneful Influence of depraved Habits; promote the Interests of Religion, Virtue, and Humanity; encourage a Spirit of Industry, Economy, and Frugality; and dispel the Shades of Ignorance, Prejudice, and Error, particularly from among the lower Orders of Mankind: consisting of Original Communications and select Extracts, invariably adapted to answer some of the above important Purposes, and brought forward in such a

pleasing Manner, as likely to excite and arrest the Attention of the juvenile Mind.

THIS work was begun in January 1813, at Haddington, the county-town of East Lothian in Scotland. It is published in monthly numbers, at no more than the price of fourpence each. The size is common 12mo: 48 pages, mostly printed in the type called long primer, are contained in every number; and each is graced by a wooden cut of considerable neatness. Twelve numbers with a supplement make up a volume of considerable size at the end of the year. We have now before us one volume and part of a second.

It lies, we conceive, peculiarly within our province to give a particular account of this well conceived and well executed work,

It is highly consolatory to observe, in the progress of the human mind, the manner in which attention is now beginning to be drawn to things of greatest importance. It is not a time very remote, since we had scarcely any books for the young, even those to whom the best education was destined. During late years that primary department has been well filled up; and the number is now very great of the works well calculated to implant a taste for reading in the youthful mind, and to multiply and correct its ideas.

At a still later period it was that the mental state of the most numerous class of our species attracted any regard. Their education was totally abandoned; and the narrow and selfish feelings of the richer classes nourished among them a prejudice against the mental cultivation of the principal portion of their fellow-creatures:—a wretched opinion—that the arts of reading and writing would render the useful orders of society less useful; an opinion which really derived its origin from a fear that education would render these orders less brutal; less slavish to those on whom their labours were bestowed. The principle of hostility to the instruction of the useful orders, therefore, was, at the bottom, a principle of despotism; that is, a principle of enmity to human nature. And we may congratulate ourselves on having made an important step in the progress of civilization, when that opinion becomes so universally exploded, as in this country it now happily is. Infinite pains are now bestowed upon the education of the poorer classes. Schools are erecting, with emulation, by all sorts of parties, in all quarters of the kingdom; and we may trust that, at no distant day, no portion of the people of these islands will be without a literary education.

All this time, however, no commencement had been made in the providing of books, by the perusal of which the faculty of reading, among the great body of the people, could be turned to great account. And this constituted the ground of one of the most plausible objections which have been urged against the schooling of the poor. The faculty of reading, it was said, will either be given to them for no purpose, because for want of appropriate books they will be unable to read, or it will be given to them for a bad purpose, as nothing but what is bad will be presented for their perusal.

It is evident enough how very shallow this reasoning is; and it is not very easy to conceive how it could have been the groundwork of any man's opinion, however it might be employed to varnish or colour it. Yet certain it is, that it gained, and that it still holds, considerable influence. Curiously enough, however, its influence rests upon inconsistent and contradictory conclusions. One set of persons are afraid of the faculty of reading, because it will enable the lower orders to read complaints against the Government, and so make them uneasy under grievances. Another sort of persons, Mr. Cobbett for instance, condemn the efforts employed to instruct the ignorant, because, under the influence of a shackled and mercenary press, they will hardly read any thing else than praises of the Government, and be deluded into acquiescence, when every act of legal opposition and resistance would be their interest and duty. What results from these contradictions? Only this; as we think every impartial person will decide; that the useful classes, when taught to read, will hear both sides, both the laudatory and the contumelious remarks upon Government, and will decide between them, with the best chance which can be given to them, of making a right decision.

Nothing is more curious than the reason assigned by Mr. Cobbett for his hostility to the Lancasterian schools, as he calls them. Does the reader ask what it is? The law of libel. That is Mr. Cobbett's objection to the Lancasterian schools!—Because the law of libel is not a good law, therefore the people ought not to be taught to read. With submission, we think another conclusion rather more rational. If the law of libel is not a good law, get it altered. It is a suspicious proposal for getting rid of bad laws, to keep the people in ignorance. This looks much more like an attempt for the preservation of all that is bad in laws; it is, at any rate, the most effectual expedient for that purpose. But to Mr. Cobbett's attacks upon the Lancasterian schools we shall possibly, at another time, return. At present it

is only necessary for us to remark, that the work which now engages our attention is a commencement (we hope) of such a series of publications for the instruction of the more numerous classes, as will convince all men, who really have the good of the people at heart, that, notwithstanding the state of the press, which no man laments more deeply than we do, it yet is possible, by means of that press, to be of infinite service to a reading people.

This commencement is emphatically a new æra. It marks one of the most important steps in the progress of human improvement. Let the uninstructed part of mankind receive education, and let books be provided for them well calculated to impart to them all the knowledge with the acquisition of which their necessary labours consist, and the progress of society must go on with highly accelerated pace. The obstructions which partly the ignorance and partly the selfishness of man every where oppose to human happiness, will be rapidly removed. It will not any longer be possible to plead for the existence of institutions inconsistent with good government, by the argument that the people are too ignorant, and brutal, and vicious, to be governed after any other fashion. The extinction of this abominable plea will be no slight victory gained over the enemies of mankind. It is a singular affair, that the very causes of that degradation of mankind, on which the argument is founded, should have been so long permitted to plead their own effects, their own deplorable and hateful effects, as a justification for protecting them, and upholding their baneful existence. Remove the cause, remove the institutions whence the degradation of human nature results, and the effect will follow. The ignorance and brutality of mankind is not an effect without a cause. Nor the effect of any necessary causes; because human nature, it is well known, always emerges from brutality and ignorance whenever causes far from necessary are removed.

On religious subjects, it is not indeed to be denied that considerable, and in many cases not injudicious efforts have been made for the provision of books to the less instructed. The design, for example, of The Religious Tract Society was excellent; and in some respects the execution has not fallen short of the design. Much activity has been employed, and numerous are the tracts which have been issued. Of the same nature are some very cheap religious magazines, which have a most extensive circulation. Among these productions, some things appear of very great merit; though much of what we have seen we consider highly objectionable, calculated to infuse not just

but degrading notions of the divine nature ; calculated to render men not religious, but superstitious ; calculated to fill their bosoms not with charity and brotherly love, but with rancour and malignity ; calculated to make men not good towards their fellow-creatures, but evil. The same education, however, and intelligence which purify other things, will also purify these ; and we believe, that the attentive observer may perceive a gradual amelioration even in those among the periodical publications, for example, to which our objections most strongly apply.

But with the exception of the religious department of instruction, little or nothing hitherto has been attempted in the provision of books for the more numerous orders of the community ; and the present attempt, which in itself contains so high a claim upon our regard, not to speak of the merit of its execution, will, we hope, attract a sufficient portion of attention and encouragement, to render the multiplication of such attempts by no means a remote contingency.

The branches of instruction for the lower orders may be arranged under the following titles : 1st, Physical instruction ; 2dly, Moral instruction ; 3dly, Economical instruction ; and 4thly, Religious instruction.

1. Physical instruction comes first, in the order of nature. The infant opens his eyes, and perceives the material objects with which he is surrounded. He employs his other senses, his power of feeling, of hearing, of tasting, and of smelling, in obtaining acquaintance with the properties of external nature, and treasuring up a knowledge of the manner in which the several objects which constitute what we call external nature, affect him—the manner in which they produce to him either pain or pleasure. This is physical knowledge, the literal meaning of which is, knowledge of nature ; and this knowledge, which is acquired immediately by the senses, and which is common to all orders of men, is far more important for the purposes of this life, than all the other branches of knowledge taken together, which the most instructed of the sons of men can possess. This is the groundwork upon which human existence is placed. Without this knowledge life would be impossible. All other knowledge is only useful when added to this. Detached from the knowledge of the common properties of nature, the knowledge of any thing else would be utterly without avail. In the knowledge, notwithstanding, of the properties of the objects of nature, in the knowledge of those properties, which may be turned either to injure or promote human welfare, one individual may differ greatly from another ; and in so far as his knowledge

is extended, so far is his power over the means of happiness greater than that of him whose knowledge of the objects of nature is less. One important branch, therefore, of instruction for the lower orders is *physical* instruction, or instruction respecting the properties of external objects. These objects are of various classes. They are, in the first place, either animate or inanimate, and no man's knowledge can be too extensive of either. These divisions, again, consist of various orders or classes. For example, the inanimate branch consists of vegetables, minerals, waters, airs ; together with light, heat, electricity, magnetism, which are either separate objects, or unexplained properties of other objects. The animate branch consists of all the different gradations of living creatures, from the microscopic insect, to man, the rational master of the terraqueous globe. Of all these objects, a vast portion are continually operating upon human life ; and its daily business is so affected by them, and the man who is the best acquainted with their properties is so much better qualified to make them operate beneficially upon that business, that infinite pains ought to be employed, in rendering the more numerous classes of mankind as amply acquainted as possible with the properties of external objects, and with the mode of turning these properties to the best account. We are happy to say, that this highly important branch of instruction for the lower orders, a species of knowledge by which their usefulness in society may be so unspeakably increased, has not been overlooked by the judicious conductors of the work to which we are now directing the attention of our readers ; and many important articles of physical knowledge are here presented to them ; short instructions, for example, for the management of the poor man's garden for each month of the year ; the natural history of the herring ; the means which may be used for obviating effects from the breaking in of ice ; from the alarm of fire ; natural appearances in the different months of the year ; and several others. But we own that, under the impression which we have of the importance to the principal division of the community of this branch of knowledge, there appears to be a deficiency of physical information in the Cheap Magazine. The conductors, intelligent as they appear to us to be, have not taken up this branch with a sufficiently distinct purpose. We have no doubt that, to persons qualified and disposed as they appear to be, a hint will be amply sufficient ; that they will make a study of all those articles of physical knowledge which are the most calculated to be of use to persons in the departments of manual labour ; all those articles by which

their health may be promoted ; their security from accidents increased ; the efficiency of their labour augmented ; their comforts multiplied ; and the sources of their physical ills reduced.

2. With regard to moral instruction, the chief object of which is, so to regulate the desires and affections, as to render man, in the first place, a harmless associate with man, to restrain him from wishing to gratify himself, or seeking the means of gratifying himself, when it would produce not gratification but pain to others ; and, in the second place, to make him a useful associate, not only not disposed to injure his fellow-creatures, but disposed to the utmost of his power to render them service ; with regard to this branch we have not much to say, that would be instructive to the conductors of this work. They appear to us to have treated this part of their subject with uncommon propriety and ability. Almost all the dispositions and habits in the lower orders, which are of most importance to their own happiness and to the prosperity of society, are here inculcated, and skillfully inculcated, by precepts, by stories, by anecdotes, by short biographical sketches ; in short, by every expedient which appears best adapted to entice to the reading, and to produce a deep impression by that which is read. There is no small literary talent, as well as good judgement and right feeling, displayed in the conduct of this part of the work. It may be read with pleasure even by the most cultivated ; and contains nothing but what is at the same time accommodated to the apprehension of the most unlearned. If there is any point to which we would recommend an increased attention, it is that of education. On this head the poor are wofully ignorant ; and much good may be done by seasonable instructions how to train their children.

3. The branch of œconomics, it is evident, is a very important branch of instruction for the lower orders. As their command over the good things of the world is but small, it is of the more importance that they should turn that very limited power to the best possible account. For this branch of their instruction, the physical branch is an important auxiliary. To a great extent, the arts of œconomy are only the articles of physical knowledge reduced to practice. The most œconomical use of fuel, for example, depends entirely upon a knowledge of the properties of heat ; the most œconomical preparations of the articles of food depend much upon a knowledge both of the nature of animal nutrition, and of the qualities of the substances employed for nutrition. The Cheap Magazine contains a good assortment of articles on this very important subject. Such are the following ; a remedy for frost-bitten potatoes ; a contrivance for increasing

the crop of potatoes; an œconomical mode of feeding calves; how to preserve cream; how to preserve eggs; an expedient for œconomizing fuel; a receipt to make potatoe bread; Chinese method of mending china; method of removing the taste of turnips from milk, or butter; and so on. Economy, among the poor, relates chiefly to articles of food, of clothing, and of furniture; and requires not only that the utmost use should be extracted from every article, which it is capable of yielding, and that no waste, through negligence or ignorance, should be incurred, but that frugality should be employed in the consumption; that things of momentary consumption should not be too costly, and things of which the consumption is gradual should neither be too costly, nor worn out too soon. Frugality, however, is a virtue, and more properly belongs to the head of moral instruction.

4. On the head of religious instruction it is not necessary to enlarge. A considerable portion of the Cheap Magazine is devoted to it. The importance is no doubt great, of rooting out the base and dishonourable conceptions of the divine nature, of which the religion of many persons consists, and supplanting them by the most pure and accurate conceptions of infinite wisdom and infinite goodness united, which the human mind is capable of forming; and not less undoubtedly great is the importance of obviating those antipathies which diversity of religious opinions engenders between man and man; of training mankind to indulge one another's opinions, and to harmonize in their affections, whatever the discordance of their belief. The religious articles which appear in this work breathe much of this excellent spirit, and we would earnestly recommend it to the conductors, to study with great diligence the means of effecting, by the religious part of their instruction, these two important ends: the first, to render the *ideas* of the people conformable with their words (they very seldom are) when they use the terms, infinite wisdom and infinite goodness of God; and the second, to promote good will among the adherents of different creeds, on the distinct ground, that it is our conduct in this life, not our views with regard to a future life, that can affect our neighbour, and of which it is our neighbour's duty to take any cognisance.

Peace.

It is so long since we were able to pronounce that delightful word, that the sound comes to our heart, like that of a release to the wretch who has long toiled in the galleys, or breathed desolation and disease in a pestilent dungeon.

One of the first points of wisdom to a nation is, to value sufficiently the blessings of peace, and to have a due horror of the atrocities and miseries of war. Without experience, it might be conceived that to this effect no exhortations were required; that the people on whom the calamities of war come down, would not be those on whom its odious and terrific qualities would fail to make a just impression. But the fact really is, that a due estimate of the effects of war, like the other results of civilization and knowledge, comes forward slowly, and, as far as we are yet enabled to judge, is one of the latest effects of human improvement.

The savage is almost always disposed for war, and the slightest causes are sufficient to kindle his hostile passions, and engage him in the work of destruction. The little tribes into which such nations are divided, are almost incessantly engaged in shedding each other's blood. The case is but little improved when men have made some other steps in the progress of society. The shepherd nations, for example, instead of inheriting the virtues of humanity, are scarcely inferior, in thirst of blood, to savages themselves. Even when men have become agricultural, so long as the business of government is yet imperfectly performed, and subject to such rude institutions as those to which the ignorance of feudal times gave birth, they are prone to the passions out of which the horrors of war arise; and not only nation is almost perpetually at war with nation, but province with province, and lord with lord. Nor does the evil terminate when improvement has much further advanced. Internal hostilities, the wars of one part of a nation against another, are happily checked; but those of nation with nation seem only to be the more durably maintained, by a greater command of the means necessary for carrying them on.

The causes are, the unhappy interests of those who govern; and the ignorance and folly of the people. Those who govern have their own ends to serve; and they almost always find it easy to persuade the people, though it is their substance that is to be

wasted, and their blood that is to be shed—in the first place, how worthy some of their neighbours are to be detested; in the next place, to be slaughtered and robbed; and in the third place, how small a sacrifice it is to surrender the lives and happiness of millions among themselves, to obtain the pleasure or glory (*glory* it is which they call it) of destroying the lives and happiness of millions of their fellow men.

These, which are the real, indisputable colours of the transaction, the deluded sufferers are ingenious in disguising to themselves. They see with their own eyes that the thing is *black*, but they insist on calling it *white*; nay, so nearly does their case approach to actual insanity, they verily *believe* in conformity with their discourse.

The progress of civilization is applauded for having mitigated the horrors of war, and prescribed some rules less destructive than those of the savage for carrying it on. There is something whimsical indeed in the panegyric; for, as the object of war is mutual mischief, to say that war is rendered less mischievous, is only to say that the means are rendered less conducive to the end; which is a strange eulogium, when the end is allowed to be good. If the end itself is bad, cease to pursue it; and abandon the horrid means altogether. But notwithstanding this panegyric, the solidity of which we shall not call in question, it is obvious to remark how very ready we still are to relapse into the barbarities of the most savage times; how easily, and how eagerly, we take up pretences for abandoning the humane restraints which civilization appeared to have imposed upon the contentions of mankind. A change of government, for example, among the French, led us, under an affected horror at their crimes, to preach all the doctrines of savage warfare, and actually to adopt a share of its practices.

If one of the most infallible tests of the progress of civilization may be found, as undoubtedly it may, in an aversion to war, and in the difficulty of being imposed upon by the delusions which are practised to lead nations into the calamities of the hostile state, we are afraid that our countrymen cannot justly be placed, however they may flatter themselves, and at flattering themselves they are very persevering and very dexterous, at any very exalted degree in the scale of improvement. It is woful to perceive, how very easily they may be cheated of their understandings; and made, by the most futile pretexts, to give their voices, and join the cry for war. But, if this be a proof that knowledge among them has even yet made a very imperfect progress, it only presents a motive so much the stronger for endeavouring to dif-

fuse among them greater light, for improving their education, and training them to the acquisition of understandings of greater discernment and force.

It is curious enough to contemplate, on this as on so many other occasions, the contrariety between the professions and the practices of men. It is regularly and unanimously acknowledged, that war is decidedly and distinctly, with the sole exception of despotism, the greatest of all the causes of human misery. Yet hardly ever do nations omit any occasion of going to war, on which they can with any kind of decency safely infringe the conditions of peace; hardly ever do they put an end to the calamities of war, when they are once engaged in them, so long as the means of carrying it on are likely to be procured.

After having suffered, during many years, the scourge of one of the most destructive wars, whether we consider the waste of life or of property, which this country ever endured, we are now at last restored to the blessings of peace; and, what is very remarkable, by a series of events over which we had little or no control; at a time, too, when we were not prepared to expect it, and hardly indeed to wish for it. It is a time when we are, therefore, eagerly incited to congratulate our countrymen and ourselves; to endeavour to make them perceive the value of the blessings which they have regained, make them set a proper estimate upon the evils from which they have escaped, and to be on their guard against the delusions which may soon again be at work to plunge them anew into the horrors of bloodshed, and all the evils which it brings in its train.

We shall not dwell upon our professions as Christians, contrasted with our alacrity for war; and upon the colour which that alacrity throws over our religious pretensions and character; upon the proof which it exhibits, how little of *reality* exists in our religion, to what an extent it is mere words, empty sound, with little or no efficacy in restraining us from evil, and easily uniting itself with the very worst of all our propensities. Neither shall we enlarge upon the inhumanity of war, upon the dreadful scenes which it produces, and the torments of human beings of which it is the fruitful source. These, it is only necessary that men should be considerate enough to think of them, for every one sufficiently to conceive. But we would most earnestly recommend it to our countrymen in particular, and to all mankind; to consider it a matter of imperative duty, to reflect now and then upon the torments and destruction effected by war, so as to render the conception of them clear and distinct, familiar to the mind, and present to the memory. It is by for-
getfulness,

surely, that men allow themselves so very easily, and so very lightly, to be seduced into an approbation of war. They do not think of its horrid effects, and thus yield to the delusion. But they ought to think of those effects. They ought to think of them so habitually, that never should the name sound in their ears, without bringing up the imagination of the sufferings and the mischiefs of which it is the horrid parent. It is the grim idol, the abhorred Moloch, upon whose terrific altars we sacrifice human victims, not one by one, but thousands by thousands: and yet we pretend to be shocked at the barbarity of the nations whose gods require human sacrifices; yet we pretend to be sincere worshippers of that God who ranked it among the worst crimes of his favourite people, that they made their children pass through the fire to an idol; and our case is infinitely more atrocious than theirs. Their victims they offered not to gratify themselves, but in obedience and gratification to the Being whom they accounted it their paramount duty to gratify and obey. We offer up our unhappy victims, by thousands for one, to an idol whose deity we acknowledge not, but abjure, on an altar raised to nothing but our own appetites and passions. It is to gratify ourselves that we sacrifice our brethren, without a pretence of any other cause; all the while complacently designating ourselves "*the humane and magnanimous!*"

This certain fact, we should really hope, would not long continue without its due effect upon the minds of human beings. It may well strike every one of us, when we hear, that scarcely is there a single war, in which this country has been engaged during the last five hundred years, which might not have been avoided, and in avoiding which there would not have been prodigious advantage. The declaration may well sound as a paradox; but that is owing to what we have so long unhappily been told, and so long have weakly believed, not to the falsehood of the assertion. Let these wars be examined one by one, let them undergo a fair trial before the tribunal of reason and humanity, taking care that prejudice and prepossession shall not be foremen of the jury, and we shall be in no pain for the verdict. It is curious enough, that in proportion as wars are more ancient, men become more united in acknowledging their being unnecessary; that is, their folly and mischief. It is only by those that are near us, those with which our existing passions are in some manner allied, that we are apt to be deceived. And distant posterity, by whom our passions will be forgotten, will pass the same, or rather a much more enlightened condemnation upon the wars into which by these passions we are plunged, than we now pronounce

upon the wars which, with so much zeal and so much pretended patriotism, our fathers carried on for the purpose of setting the crown of France upon the head of their sovereign, or for rescuing the grave of Christ from the hands of the infidels.

It is not necessary, for the support of this declaration, that it should appear we have always been to blame, and not our neighbours; for this is not the fact. Our neighbours have been as often to blame as ourselves; and sometimes the malignant cause has appeared most strongly on the one side, and sometimes on the other. Notwithstanding this, it will not so much as be disputed, that in by far the greater number of wars, the calamity with infinite advantage might have been avoided. And with regard even to the rest, it may with confidence be affirmed, that hardly is there one to which the same grounds of condemnation do not apply. The modes, the easy modes of avoiding war, have never been studied. But the devices, the baneful devices, by which men may be cheated into wars, have been carefully studied, and industriously practised; the devices by which a trifling provocation may be made to appear a great one; by which an imaginary injury may be made to appear a real one; by which a sufficient reparation may be made to appear less than sufficient; by which revenge may be made to appear a virtue, and national enjoyment and prosperity less to be desired than the infliction of misery upon an offending neighbour; contemptible devices, by which the word *glory*, that unhappy sound, is made to appear an adequate substitute, not only for humanity and even justice toward others, but for prosperity and happiness at home; devices, by which the word *honour*, which signifies only pride and revenge, is made to take place of all the virtues, and govern men and nations at the discretion, and for the interests, of those who have the skill to employ it. Ah! if equal pains had been taken to study and to practise the means of standing exempt from war, with the pains which have been taken to study and to practise the means of being almost perpetually involved in it, to what prosperity would not human nature ere this time have been advanced! What miseries, what causes of retardation would it not have escaped! What time, what motives would it have enjoyed, for the acquisition of knowledge; for the discovery and for the removal of all the causes by which human happiness is prevented; and for the discovery and for the application of all the expedients by which it may be promoted! On what a secure and immoveable basis might that happiness now have been placed; and to what an elevation might it have been raised!

The causes which hitherto have kept the earth involved in

Wood are not difficult to trace. The rage of princes for war and conquest is proverbial. It is, perhaps, the most prominent fact in the history of human nature. It is, therefore, worthy of the most attentive regard. The motives from which it springs, the feelings of the heart, are sufficiently manifest. The love of power, and the love of applause, two of the most powerful propensities of the breast, equally receive from it their gratification, and during a certain state of the human mind their most exquisite gratification. Where the will of the prince therefore exclusively reigns, nations may justly be considered as in a state of habitual war; the miserable intervals of peace being only a breathing-time, for a moment of exhaustion, ready to be cut short whenever the prospect of warring to any advantage re-appears.

Where the will of the prince does not exclusively govern, but where the people are let in for a share of power, the motive of the prince for keeping the nation at war, and for endeavouring to delude the people by every artifice of deception to go along with him in his warlike propensity, is prodigiously increased. And it may be set down as an established fact, that limited monarchs, taken averagely, will always be more dissatisfied with a state of peace, and more restless and eager for war, than absolute ones. The reason is abundantly plain. War is favourable for extending their power; not abroad merely, but likewise at home. It is fertile in means for their getting possession, one after another, of all the articles of power which are not yet in their hands; and at last of grasping the whole, and becoming absolute. How energetic such a motive as this, may well be conceived. Nor is it difficult to observe in what manner war contributes to aid a limited monarch in so natural a desire. The whole powers and instruments of war being placed in the hands of the king, evidently render him, during the time they are wielded, more powerful as towards his people, and the people more weak as towards the king, than during the season when no such powers or instruments exist. The situation of war, therefore, is a more proud and aspiring situation for a limited monarch than the period of peace. And in such a situation he is far more able to intimidate those who are jealous and watchful of his power, and either to stifle complaint, or crush the men who are the authors of it.

Nor is it merely in the way of intimidation that war affords a limited monarch the means of making encroachments upon the securities of the people, and of gradually annihilating the restraints upon his power. It is perhaps still more fruitful in the means of allurement; and enables him by the united force of

both—by a great increase in the means at once of intimidation and of enticement—to make a double progress in the augmentation of his power. For the business of carrying on the war, a prodigious mass of the matter of wealth, the chief matter by which allurements is produced, is placed at his disposal, and may be employed in a thousand ways, in buying off opponents, and purchasing the temporary compliance of millions; and so long as that compliance lasts, one slight advantage may be gained after another, one security of the people may be weakened, then another; while every step of the progress generates new strength, to make the following more rapid and more wide. If the securities of the people are all intrusted to an assembly of delegates, the course is plain and easy. The matter of wealth, thus intrusted into the superior hands, has to be employed, to as great an extent as may be safe and easy, in buying off opposition, and purchasing co-operators, in that assembly. And as soon as ever the means are obtained of purchasing a sufficient number, the business is done; and the despotism is rendered complete. When by means of a free press, and the judgement which they themselves are understood to pass upon public measures, the people exercise a direct influence upon the proceedings of government, independent of the assembly which they elect, more delicacy and gradation are necessary in rearing the fabric of power. The matter of corruption must be extended, not to the elected assembly merely, but must be pretty generally diffused among the portion possessed of influence among the people themselves. And for this purpose the enormous expenditure of war is of prodigious service. In no situation, therefore, have the people more remarkable occasion to show a steady disapprobation of war, and to use every lawful expedient for preventing their rulers from engaging them in its calamities, than under a limited monarchy. Of all the enemies of good government, such a people ought never to forget that war adds to its other dreadful effects, that of being the worst; that it leads with steady pace to despotism, through the road of taxation and blood.

The Slave Trade.

We cannot omit, though we have not space remaining to go into the subject as it deserves, to join our voice to that of the millions who are now deploring the article in the treaty lately

concluded with France, by which that country retains to herself the power of carrying slaves from the coast of Africa to the West-Indies for the space of five years.

Highly was it to be desired, that the termination of a war under which we had suffered so long, which had oppressed us by so many burthens, and inflicted upon humanity so many evils, should not have been tarnished with any circumstance to excite our regret; should not have yielded any handle to those numerous and powerful classes who derive a lamentable advantage from war, to excite dissatisfaction with the peace, to make people think of the war with less abhorrence, or even to join in inconsiderate expressions of a wish that it had continued, or should again begin, rather than peace should be prolonged upon the present terms.

It is indeed cruel to consider that the efforts of the humane, acting upon the largest scale, and affecting so deeply the interests not of one nation, or of two nations, but of a large division of the human race, should be so very easily defeated. But what does this afflicting experience teach? Not vain lamentations and despair! It teaches, that there still remain defects in the constitution of society, even where civilization is the furthest advanced; defects which still degrade the human character, and give the ascendant, which is due to justice and humanity, to injustice and cruelty. These defects are removeable; it is therefore the duty of those to whom the interests of humanity are dear, to act, to labour, to struggle, and toil for their removal. This would be to commence at the foundation. Let but this be accomplished, and every thing else which the friends of man desire follows as a necessary consequence. When men are trained to justice and humanity under institutions calculated to mould their character into this happy frame, they will no longer contend for the profits of the slave-trade. So long as they are trained to injustice and inhumanity, by institutions well calculated to mould their character into that odious frame, the profits of the slave-trade will appear to them as desirable as the profits of any other trade.

It was for this reason that we were so highly delighted with what Mr. Wilberforce delivered at the General Meeting of the Friends of the African Institution, who met at the Free Masons' Tavern to petition Parliament on the subject of the lamented clause relating to the slave-trade, which the treaty with France contains. His hopes, he declared, were chiefly directed to the diffusion of knowledge, both here and on the continent; and he exhorted the friends of the abolition of the slave-trade to omit

no exertion within the compass of their power for the promotion of this important object. That this is the right course, we cannot for a moment hesitate to believe. As little can we have any doubt, that war, which we did regret extremely to hear named with approbation as among the means to such an end, neither was nor can be effectual to that purpose. It is a most unfortunate association of ideas, that of war, and that of the abolition of the slave-trade. Many persons, we doubt not, whose voice would be readily heard in favour of the abolition on any other occasion, would be deterred by any thing which looked like an attempt to engage the nation anew in the horrors and calamities of war; and who will be justly and rationally alarmed, lest the enemies of peace should be enabled to avail themselves of the deep interest which the article relating to the slave-trade excites, for the purpose of alienating the public mind from ideas of peace, and plunging them once more into hostilities, out of which so many derive a lucrative harvest.

To the readers of this Journal it is not necessary to dwell upon the horrors of the slave-trade. The word slavery, we should say, conveys enough to the ears of Britons, to excite the most painful sensations; did we not know to how great an extent even personal slavery yet pollutes the soil of Europe; and how little in point of civilization or happiness the European slave is superior to the West Indian slave; and how little the condition of the European slaves has ever been regarded in the treaties and agreements formed by the sovereigns and states of the European portion of the globe. We must yet make a long progress in disseminating a proper sense of the evils of slavery, in all its shapes and in all its abodes, before we shall be able to impress the world in general with a proper estimate of the evils of African slavery. Those persons who have no disinclination to slavery in Russia, to slavery in Poland, in Bohemia, in Hungary, to the besotted and base condition of the great mass of the people in Spain, for example, and Portugal, and Sicily, and a great part of Italy, and some parts of Germany, where without the name of slaves they are suffering almost all the evils that slavery can produce; and to come nearer home, those who are but little affected at the thought of the growing millions who crowd the workhouses, and the thousands who are allowed to rot and to starve in the filthy dungeons of England, cannot be expected to feel any very acute commiseration for the slavery of negroes, or be much affected by any pictures we can draw of the sufferings which it is the nature of that slavery to produce. They to whom the lot of humanity is a matter of much indifference

near at home, will not be excited to any very great endeavours by the thought of its condition at a distance. When the reputation of humanity can be purchased at an easy rate, by joining the voice of the philanthropist, such persons may applaud the exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade. But we shall deceive ourselves, if we expect from them any sacrifices, either of ease, of pleasure, or of profit, for the attainment of such a purpose. How very different would be the case, if their minds were trained to desire the amelioration of the condition of the suffering part of their species, first where it most nearly approaches to themselves, and next as it is diffused over the rest of the world ! But we need not expect that men will much care for the freedom of blacks, who have no regard for the freedom of whites. In our endeavours, therefore, to enlighten the world on the subject of African slavery, let us never forget the point at which, if we mean to produce any solid effects, it is necessary for us to begin. Let us make the value of freedom be felt, in the largest acceptation of the word ; let the human mind be trained to regard it as the first of blessings to every portion of the species, and to exercise itself in removing the obstructions to it wherever they are felt : we shall not then have occasion to deplore a cold or hypocritical sympathy with African sufferings. The conclusion, to which experience draws, undoubtedly is ; that it is upon a basis of general humanity that a general co-operation for the removal of the causes which obstruct the civilization of Africa can be reared ; that, so long as men are unable to feel for the evils which exist around them, they must be still more unable to feel for those which are more remote ; and that it is their habit of disregarding the first class of evils, which renders it so difficult to excite their attention to the second.

Let us make one reflection, which deserves more attention than it will receive : Had exertions been as successfully directed to keep alive the sensibility of the French people to their own freedom, as to deaden that sensibility, we should not have had to deplore in that nation an odious adherence to the African slave-trade.

Three objects would be gained, by preventing the exportation of slaves from the African coast. In the first place, the motives for good treatment to the slaves in the West Indies would be increased, by rendering the life of a slave more valuable, and by the necessity of some tenderness, at least to the women, for the purpose of supplying the demand by propagation. There are indeed but too many instances to prove (we have had an opportunity of producing those of a Hodge and a Huggins) that this

motive is a very inefficient restraint upon a brutal and hardened mind. But it cannot fail to have some effect, and we think a very considerable effect, in the greater number of instances; and in restraining the impulses of power of one man over another, every thing is of importance. It will not suffice to make the condition of the slaves good, or even tolerable; but it will make it better. There are degrees of malignity in slavery as in other evils, though in every degree it is a dreadful lot; though in every situation it is the reproach of human nature, and a proof of remaining barbarism. Who that is not a barbarian would wish to retain a fellow-creature his slave?

The second of the happy effects which would be produced by preventing the exportation of slaves from the African coast, would be to save thousands of human beings annually from the horrors (almost as bad as those to which so many are exposed in our detestable wars) of the voyage from Africa to the West Indies. It is far from our intention to lessen the sense of those horrors by comparing them with the horrors of war; by comparing the miseries of the middle passage with the miseries of a campaign. It is rather with a view to give a more dreadful conception of them than language, by any other means, could convey. That the evils to which human beings are exposed by the hardships of many campaigns, are still greater than those of the voyage of the slaves, is proved by the effects. Human nature sinks under them to a still greater extent. A much greater proportion of armies die under the hardships to which we allude, die of the exquisite miseries, the fatigue, the cold, the hunger, the wet, which they endure, than of slaves under the hardships of the middle passage. The hardships of the campaign are therefore the most dreadful. But those of the voyage of the slaves have in some instances almost equalled the worst of those which we have just now mentioned, and which we regard as the most terrible of the sufferings to which our nature is exposed. The saving of expense, by crowding them into little room, and the necessity of severe constraint to guard against the danger of mutiny, are causes of suffering, at the conception of which the mind shudders. It is, however, the interest of the dealers that the lives and even the health of the slaves should be preserved. And it was well observed by Mr. Wilberforce in his speech to the meeting which was so lately held at the Freemasons' Tavern, that this voyage might be placed under such regulations as would greatly mitigate the sufferings of (what it is dreadful that human beings should be called) *the cargo*! And this is one of the objects, with regard to which the efforts of the African Institu-

tion may, undoubtedly, be productive of very important effects. In stating the lamentable consequences which would flow from the article relating to the slave-trade in the treaty with France, Mr. Wilberforce said, that if an unlimited traffic in slaves was laid open, it was more disastrous than if it was conducted by ourselves; because, if it was conducted by ourselves, we could impose regulations upon our own carriers, which would ensure a certain degree of humane treatment towards the slaves: but if the trade was carried on by other nations, we retained no such advantage and no such power, and had every reason to expect that the condition of the unhappy victims would be still worse in foreign hands than in ours. Now what we would suggest is this; that if the efforts of the humane part of the British nation should fail (which we most earnestly deprecate) in persuading the French to renounce the slave-trade, the African Institution should press upon the French government, through all the most efficient channels to which they can have recourse, the humanity, and even the good policy, of establishing such regulations for their slave-vessels as may alleviate the horrors of the middle passage; nor in this can we allow ourselves to believe that their endeavours would be void of success.

The third effect which would be produced by the abolition of the trade on the coast of Africa, would be the removal of a grand obstruction to the civilization and happiness of the people of that extended continent. This effect we regard as by far the most important of all. It cannot be denied that the money which the chiefs, princes, or kings derive from the slaves which they obtain by war, is a motive to perpetual hostilities; and hostilities of a most atrocious kind, hostilities committed against the persons of men. To obtain a cargo for a slave-ship is a reason for attacking and ruining a whole nation or canton. The perpetual wars, the perpetual ravages, the perpetual miseries and alarms in which the people are thus retained, necessarily exclude all those improvements of society which can be the result of peace alone. They remain by necessity involved in one of the worst of the stages of savage life.

It is worthy of remark, that the African slave-trade is a cause of evil, an obstruction to civilization, to which we know not that any rude nation was ever before exposed. It is a monster of a new description upon the earth. In other ages slavery has been still more widely extended than it is in the present, and has often assumed still more horrid forms than even that of African slavery in the West Indies; but the nations of antiquity bred their slaves, and were not in the habit of supplying themselves, at least in

any considerable quantity, from foreign nations. No particular country, therefore, was subject to a drain, like that of Africa. To no particular country was a large and regular market presented for the sale of human beings. To no country, therefore, was presented that motive which is now presented to Africa, for all those horrid proceedings by which human beings are got possession of for sale. This is a dreadful evil, most assuredly. Of all the pernicious circumstances which exist in the state of any society, those which afford motives to war are the most dreadful, the most prolific of evil, the most to be deplored, and the most urgently demanding every exertion which can be made for their removal. It is on this ground that the efforts of the humane, so vigorously and nobly maintained, for the destruction of this market of human flesh, for cutting off this temptation to the rude and ignorant people of Africa to perpetual war, for removing one of the obstructions to peace, to civilization, to arts, knowledge, and happiness, are most entitled to the approbation and applause of the really enlightened part of mankind. And it is a source of poignant grief to think that this object, as yet, is incapable of being obtained.

It is not the article in the treaty with France which is the only object of lamentation. There are other nations, who seem to be still further removed from the point of civilization at which any such sacrifice in the cause of humanity is to be expected, than France. France may soon be taught to value freedom for herself, and then she will value it for others. But Spain and Portugal only treated our proposals with contempt if we recommended to them the abolition of the slave-trade, at the very time when their preservation from conquest, from the hands of a hated foe, rested solely upon our exertions, and when we were pouring out in torrents the blood and treasure of our people for their protection. At that very moment Spain and Portugal would not on a hair's breadth remit the traffic in negroes; and frankly and unequivocally declared to us, that our demands in that particular we never should obtain. It has for many months been very fully understood that the Spaniards and Portuguese would not give up the slave-trade; and in point of fact it is well known, that during the past year they have carried from the coast of Africa as great an amount of human beings as ever was carried from it by all the nations together in any one year before.

It sometimes happens, that good arises out of apparent evil. And we, who never wish to despair, are disposed to look upon the article relative to the slave-trade, in the treaty with France, as productive, along with its natural bad effects, of some acci-

dental good ones of very great importance. It has roused the sensibility of the people; which seemed to have become very dull. Little or no complaint was expressed at the existence of the Spanish and Portuguese slave-trade, at a time when we had it much more in our power to operate upon their will, than we had it in our power to operate upon the will of France in negotiating the late treaty of peace. And even the African Institution contented themselves with noticing annually in their Reports, that they had been pressing the subject upon the attention of ministers, but certainly without any ground of hope afforded by the ministers that their solicitations would be productive of the desired effect. Yet there can be no doubt at all of the truth of what the Earl of Liverpool, the minister, declared in the House of Lords, in the debate on the slave-trade, on the 27th of June; to wit,—that the slave-trade of France could only be trifling, compared with that of Portugal and Spain. While, then, we were willing to sleep over the greater evil, comes this article in the treaty with France, which rouses our blunted feelings, and sets our faculties at work for devising means to counteract the causes of evil which we cannot remove; and they will not, we trust, be put in action without advantage. One object of this country now, ought undoubtedly to be, to regulate what we cannot prevent; and we can hardly doubt that even the wretched governments of Portugal and Spain would enter into arrangements for this purpose, both to mitigate the horrors of the voyage from Africa to the land of sugar, and also to conduct the traffic on the coast of Africa in a way somewhat less pernicious than is commonly done.

Another advantage, and that of great importance, may be expected to arise from the present impulse communicated to our minds. We shall possibly be incited to take a more enlarged view of our subject. We have hitherto attached ourselves almost exclusively to one object, to the prevention of the slave-market. If we could prevent the slave-market, we seem to have imagined that every thing was done. But it was easy to see, that much more was necessary to be removed than one cause of evil, to permit the introduction of improvement into Africa. It might have been remembered, that the coast of Africa was barbarous before the slave-trade began. It had remained in barbarity for ages indefinite in number. Causes, therefore, existed to keep it in barbarity independent of the slave-trade. These other causes, we hope, will now be sought for, and, as far as it is possible for the exertions of a more enlightened nation to diminish them, that they will be diminished.

Mr. Whitbread said well, in his address to the British and Foreign School Society, at their dinner on the 24th of last month, in the Free Masons' Tavern, that it was out of the *want of knowledge* that the miseries of Africa sprung. In that single expression was contained the matter of volumes. A total want of knowledge on the part of the Africans, said Mr. Whitbread, and a defective, incomplete, and therefore a *misguiding* knowledge on the part of the Europeans, laid the foundation for the slave-trade. Had the Africans, said he truly, the elements alone of knowledge, could they fail to perceive that the slave-trade was not their advantage, but their bane? Were the Europeans more enlightened, and thence more virtuous, would they not despise and detest the gains which might be made by dealing in the miseries of their brethren? Here then is a field, in which our labours may with sanguine hopes be laid out. Here is not only *one* of the causes, but here is the radical, the comprehensive cause of all the evils, excepting physical evils, with which unhappy Africa is afflicted.

Let us examine this exhortation of Mr. Whitbread, respecting the counteraction of the slave-trade, by the attempt to disseminate knowledge, a little more closely. We are persuaded that the more attentively it is considered, the more replete with wisdom it will appear. Let us go to the proximate cause of the sale which is made of one another by the Africans to the Europeans. It will be found to be, the same which more or less affects every other part of the globe, the sinister interest of the leading men. The leading men get money, or goods, by the slaves whom they sell. But a very little knowledge of industry would make it visible to the Africans, that the labour of a man would be many times more productive than the sale of him; and even the leading men would become sensible that they might be far more abundantly supplied with money, and all the other commodities at which they aim, by the industry of their subjects, than by the sale of them. This is a truth which so soon becomes apparent, and is acted upon with practical conviction by nations at so early a stage of their progress, that we cannot imagine the Africans incapable of receiving it. Many of the tribes are far from being in the lowest stage of barbarity; nor, within the sphere of their experience, are they devoid of sagacity and discernment. We are firmly persuaded, that measures might be adopted, to give to these tribes a perception of the advantages of protected industry; to make their leading men perceive how much more amply they might be supplied with all the commodities which they desire, by encouraging the industry of their subjects, and

abstaining as much as possible from war, than by hunting after slaves, which prevents the industry of their own subjects, and exposes them to perpetual retaliation from their neighbours. We say that the experiment ought to be made. We say that it never has been made. And the reason is, that hitherto we have taken, as we said before, a very limited view of our subject. The experiment has been made upon a still more barbarous people; It has been made by the Quakers of Pennsylvania upon the North American Indians; and with such success, as completely to prove that, if the object was pursued with means adequate to the end, it would most completely be accomplished. Among the North American Indians, the obstacles to a communication of the knowledge of the advantages which spring from industry were apparently at least, and it remains to be proved that they were not really, still more formidable than those which present themselves among the tribes of Africans. The Americans were totally unacquainted with industry, and their habits disposed them to regard it as the greatest of evils. The Africans are by no means unacquainted with industry. They cultivate the ground, and practise several of the more necessary arts. Habits are, therefore, in some degree prepared. In some degree they are already acquainted with the productive powers of labour, and with the advantages which it bestows. By sending among the North American Indians small associations to cultivate the ground, and manufacture the most necessary utensils, and articles of consumption, the Quakers found it possible to convey to the Indians so powerful a conviction of the benefits of industry, as to overpower almost immediately their most inveterate habits. Nor can we doubt that means might be pursued for improving the industry of the Africans, and giving to them so convincing an experience of the productiveness of industry, and its superiority, its unspeakable superiority, to all other means of procuring the commodities which administer to the delight of nations, and their rulers, that industry would supersede the slave-trade. And if industry superseded the slave-trade, it would supersede also the more destructive of all the other evils under which the Africans groan. It would at any rate diminish the propensity to war, and lengthen the periods of peace. It would soften the tone of despotism, and make those lives be spared, whose utility was so amply experienced. To what degree instruction, by precept, by example, by the supply of instruments, and other means, may be afforded to the Africans for the improvement of their industry, ought to occupy the thoughts of us all. Experiments ought immediately to be commenced. And perseverance ought in this,

above all other undertakings, to be firmly resolved. The progress may at first be slow. In the end, however, success is indubitable. Another circumstance immediately conducive to all these desirable ends is, to furnish a market to the produce of African industry; to show that the same acquisitions at which they aim by the sale of slaves, may be accomplished, and accomplished in much greater perfection, by the sale of other things. If they are once convinced of this, and experience will be an effectual teacher, the African slave-trade will die a spontaneous death; because slaves will then become dear, and it will be more expensive in the West Indies to import than to rear.

We should think that there would be no difficulty, at any rate, in obtaining a stipulation, at the approaching Congress, correspondent to the judicious proposition of Mr. Wilberforce, in the motion which that gentleman submitted to the House of Commons on the 28th of June. "As there was a considerable portion," he said, "of Africa, where the exertions of this country had been successful to a considerable degree, and where a legitimate commerce had been introduced, sacred from any of the miseries of the slave-trade, he thought that a compact might be made, by no means inconsistent with the article of the treaty, exempting all that part of Africa which was not suffering at present any of the calamities alluded to, from being again plunged into them by the renewal of the trade." To accomplish such an understanding or agreement, would not, we do think, be very difficult, and it would be a great point gained; it would be much, to have an opportunity of setting an example to the rest of Africa, of the happiness which might be attained by the progress of peaceful pursuits; by the regular exercise of industry, and the advancement of knowledge and civilization. But then efforts must, be made to introduce industry, to introduce knowledge and civilization. We must not think that all is done when the traffic in slaves is prevented. The other causes which held Africa barbarous before the West Indies were known, or Columbus had sailed, must be removed. The skill and humanity of a civilized people must be exerted to the utmost, to introduce into this portion of Africa some of their own advantages. And we are upon reflection convinced, that the most effectual mode of producing any desirable change in the character and condition of the Africans, is by making them perceive, making them feel and taste, the advantages of industry. Let us show to them, by experience, what their own soil and their own hands can be made to do for them. Let them understand but this, and the

salutary example will unquestionably spread. Civilization will radiate from such a centre. We shall then have an example which we can hold up ; which all the enlightened and virtuous men in Europe will admire and applaud ; and which will stigmatize the barbarous nations that adhere to the odious traffic.

It is a delightful thing to be able to state, upon the authority of what Mr. Wilberforce declared in the House of Commons on the 28th, " that he understood Holland had agreed to an immediate and unconditional abolition of the slave-trade." This we should have expected. The Dutch know to a considerable degree, and set a value on freedom. It was, therefore, what we should have anticipated, that they would respect the freedom of others. This is a satisfactory and cheering example, added to that of Great Britain and the United States of America, to prove the effects of free government in ameliorating the human character ; in liberalizing the ideas ; in creating a disposition to justice ; in producing a sympathy with human happiness in every quarter of the world. The African Institution, we hope, will be aware how much they are interested, even as advocates for humanity to the Africans, in the diffusion of liberal ideas on the subject of government in the countries of Europe, and particularly in their own country. If men are in earnest for liberal treatment to all those whom they approach, it is the best of all securities, that they will be in earnest for liberal treatment towards those who are at a distance. One man, or two men, or a hundred men, may strongly attach their sympathies to a distant people, while they care but little for those immediately around them. But the general current of the human mind is different. The generality of mankind feel the most for those they best know ; and if they have but little desire to remove the evils of slavery, however small, which they behold, they will have still less regard for the evils, however great, of a slavery of which they only hear. This, we are persuaded, is a fundamental idea ; and that mischief arises from neglecting it.

If the part of Africa which we have been able to purify from the slave-trade should be regarded as sacred from the entrance of the slave-factor, and secured by a general agreement at the approaching Congress, it would be practicable, we should imagine, to extend a sort of a league among the nearest of the African chiefs to abstain from the slave-trade. Treaties to this effect, we doubt not, might be frequently made ; and every treaty would pave the way to other treaties. Ingenuity should be exerted to devise advantages for these princes, which might in some degree compensate for the sacrifice they made. Annual presents might

be made; and various things might be done, which local knowledge only can suggest. Every step of the progress renders slaves so much the dearer, and thus diminishes the temptation to purchase them. Whenever it can be rendered more expensive to import a slave from Africa, than to rear a slave in the islands, the most effectual of all abolitions takes place.

To this point, therefore, attention should immediately be directed; and every thing which has a tendency to increase the expense on the one side, and lessen it on the other, should be eagerly sought out and pursued. One idea we will venture to suggest. France, though she will not forgo the slave-trade, might be induced to impose a pretty severe tax upon every slave imported, and to grant a considerable premium for every slave that is reared. Spain and Portugal might, perhaps, be prevailed upon to do the same. They would perhaps agree to compel the slaves to be carried in regulated vessels, in which the slaves shall have abundance of room, good food, and other accommodations, which are not only required by humanity, but will aggravate the expense. Another expedient which we strongly recommend is, that every thing should be done in the islands which can render the rearing of the slaves easy, and of little expense. The great obstruction to the rearing of slaves is the expense of subsistence. And in our islands we have always taken care to render that expense as great as possible, by interfering with the supply of provisions from North America, where is the cheapest and most plentiful market. If we meant to make it the interest of the planters to rear their slaves, we ought undoubtedly to have taken the opposite course. What the friends of the abolition should press with the utmost possible zeal upon the government of this country should be, an accommodation of the unhappy differences which have thrown us into the present deeply to be lamented war with the United States; and, upon the termination of the war, an arrangement for admitting into the West India islands the provisions of North America upon the most advantageous possible conditions. We really can hardly doubt, that, by acting in this way, so as to increase the expense upon slaves imported, and to diminish it upon those that are reared, the slave-trade might be abolished indirectly in a more complete manner than if ever can be through direct prohibitions, while it remains the interest of many thousands of persons to carry it on.

These are hasty and irregular suggestions, not, we hope, altogether useless, but chiefly intended to show that we are feelingly alive to the subject, and to correct some wrong turns which the pleadings in favour of the abolition appeared to us in one or two

instances inclining to take. We do intend for the subject a more systematic discussion when our ideas are more matured. The approaching Congress, though it is an important occasion, is not the only occasion when the suggestions of this country may be passed upon foreign governments. A more favourable time is undoubtedly coming, when some progress has been made in the dissemination upon the Continent of that knowledge which, we are happy to think, from the expressions of Mr. Wilberforce, that it will be the endeavour of the African Institution to produce. In the mean time every man, whose mind can devise expedients for the accomplishment of the great objects in view, should make them known. Even if we are mistaken, we shall multiply the objects of comparison; we shall render the subject more familiar, and keep attention alive.

Facts interesting to Humanity.

KNOWING that the press is easier of access than the Bar of the Houses of Parliament, the writer of the following Petition avails himself of that medium to lay before the public a matter, to the subject of which he most earnestly craves their attention, and particularly at this important crisis, when millions of our unoffending fellow-mortals, men, women, and children, are by the Treaty with France disfranchised of their natural rights, most cruelly placed out of the protection of law, and, in short, doomed to irremediable misery and premature death, and that by nations assuming the character of civilization!

To the Members of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland,

The respectful and dutiful Petition of the undersigned sheweth,

That your Petitioner approaches the individual notice of the Members of your House with sentiments of painful regret, in consideration of that article of the late Treaty with France, which sanctions the revival, on the part of that country, of the Slave-trade on the coast of Africa.

It would ill become an obscure individual to enter into any political disquisitions in regard to the tenor of that article; he wishes to view it under the aspect in which the feelings of our common nature, in which the religion of the Prince of Peace, our common Saviour, places it.

Suffer your Petitioner, nevertheless, respectfully to represent his unfeigned grief, that the moment when, after a long and sanguinary contest among the nations of Europe, peace is restored,

and a general pacification is established, should be the moment of dire alarm to the vast population of the continent of Africa—an alarm to be followed by indescribable outrage to its unoffending natives, men, women, and children.

And when the flood-gates of misery are thus opened upon the African race, your Petitioner submits it as a matter worthy of your consideration in the character of Legislators and of Christians, that thus a reflux of moral evil must inevitably revert to the inhabitants of Europe; evil which, becoming habitual, will become inveterate.

In the prosecution of war, the plea generally assumed is, the assertion and defence of right, of justice, or of liberty; but a war, a desolating war, is now commencing through a whole quarter of the globe, in remorseless violation of all right, all justice, and all liberty.

Your Petitioner therefore ardently hopes, that for the character of Europe, for the character of Great Britain, you will not suffer the infant settlements of the western world to be beforehand with you in precluding the ravages of Slave Traders of *every nation* from the peaceful dwellings of the African race.

Thus may this important conjuncture in the affairs of mankind be distinguished in the history of the world as the era of the complete redemption of Africa from the miseries that have been inflicted upon her sons for the sordid purposes of gain; and thus may the fervent prayers of thousands and tens of thousands of your countrymen be happily accomplished; that Africa, through the mediation of Europe, and more particularly of Great Britain, shall, instead of misery and devastation, receive knowledge and civilization, and eventually, the greatest of all blessings, the light of the Gospel, and thus be qualified to join in one general acclaim of thanksgiving to the Supreme Father and Benefactor of the Universe!

That the honour of accomplishing this beneficent purpose may characterize to future ages the present Imperial Parliament, is the sincere and ardent prayer of your Petitioner,

Wandsworth.

GEORGE HARRISON.

PLAN FOR THE SPEEDY RECOVERY OF LOST CHILDREN.

In consideration of the distress felt by Parents and other persons, occasioned by Little Children accidentally straying from home, or being otherwise missing, a Memorial was presented to the Gresham Committee*, requesting permission that notices of children being either lost or found might be posted up on the outside of the Royal Exchange, in order that a central place of communication might be formed between those persons who might have the misfortune to miss the children, and those who might find them. The Committee having granted the desired permission, two boards

* This Committee conducts the affairs relative to the Royal Exchange.

were, at the latter end of the year 1812, fixed up on each side of the passage from Cornhill into the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of placing the notices on, *free of expense*. In the course of the first twelvemonth about 130 bills were posted up, including a *few* cases of deranged persons who were missing. The expected effects of this plan have been very satisfactory, several instances having occurred of children who were lost being restored to their parents in consequence of the notices being seen on these boards.

To give publicity to this Plan, printed bills were posted in the streets, and distributed in shops, and advertisements inserted in the newspapers, for which, and for other incidental expenses, a small subscription has been raised*.

In addition to the Notice Boards, a book has lately been deposited at the Merchant Seamen's Office, (by leave of the President, &c.) in which copies of the Notices may be entered, (also free of expense,) on application at the Office over the Royal Exchange. The notices being inserted in the book will be secure from being damaged by weather or otherwise, as those on the boards are liable to be, and thus an *additional* chance of the children being speedily recovered will be afforded.

Attendance at the Office from ten until two o'clock, Sundays and Holidays excepted.

Subscriptions received by Isaac England, Cullum-street, Fenchurch-street; and by B. M. Forster, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street.

London, 19th May, 1814.

ABUSES OF THE LAW.

The following is extracted from the Report in the Morning Chronicle of the 28th of June, of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the 27th of that month.

Mesne Proccss.

Lord Stanhope rose and observed, that seeing so many of the most respectable Members of that House present with Petitions in their hands against a most pernicious traffic, he meant the African Slave Trade, he wished to call their attention to one which he had to present against the *English Slave Trade*. He was persuaded, when their Lordships had heard the Petition read, they would agree, that a more interesting one had never been presented to that House. It was the Petition of a person named Elizabeth Booth, the widow of Peter Booth. Her husband had been arrested on Mesne Process on Saturday the 7th of May last, though at the very time he was so afflicted with illness that he could not rise from his bed. In this condition he was willing to give up all his furniture, and whatever other effects he had, to his creditor. His wife (the Petitioner) also

* The subscriptions already received have mostly been of 10s. 6d. each.

obtained a certificate from a medical person, stating, that her husband's life had not three days' purchase in it, and that it would, therefore, be useless to arrest him. This certificate she delivered to the sheriff's officer: but it had no effect; for he actually took him on his back, and in that manner conveyed him down stairs. He was met in the passage by the landlady of the house, who asked him "where he was going with the man?" He answered, "To Newgate." She replied, "Do you not see that you are murdering him, by removing him at such a moment?" to which he said, "I have nothing to do with that, I am only doing my duty." The prisoner was then conveyed in an open cart to a lock-up house, from whence he was removed, on Monday, to Newgate. There was neither cell nor room to receive him, and he was actually laid upon a bare bench in one of the yards; nor could his wife obtain for him any shelter till she had promised to pay four shillings a night for a bed. The consequence of this treatment was, that he became insane on the Thursday, and in which state he expired on the 27th of the same month. A Coroner's Inquest was taken, and their verdict was, "that he had died a natural death, but accelerated by his removal to prison." Those were the facts of the Petition; and the Petitioner further prayed, that the murderous practice of Mesne Process, which had deprived her of her only comfort in this life, might be wholly abolished. Being always cautious, the noble lord continued, in ascertaining the accuracy of any matter stated in a petition, he wished to have a copy of the verdict delivered by the Coroner's Jury. Application was made, and he was told *that 1l. must be paid for a strip of paper not longer than his finger*. One pound or twenty was the same to him, as he was anxious to have the copy; but *when applied for, it was refused*, and inspection only would be permitted. Two persons were sent to inspect the record, and *even that was refused*. By the Act of Philip and Mary, however, every Coroner was required to put in writing whatever evidence was produced before him; and whatever verdict the Jury came to. But why put them upon record, if they were not afterwards to be inspected? The noble and learned Lord referred to several other statutes declaratory of the duty of the Coroner in this respect; and concluded by observing, that he thought it right to inform their Lordships of a perfectly new circumstance, and which he held to be illegal and improper.—The Petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

ABSTRACT OF THE CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS' ACT.

28 Geo. III. Chap. 48.

That no Chimney-sweeper shall have at any one time more than six apprentices.

That no boy shall be employed as a climber who is under the age of eight years.

That every Chimney-sweeper shall provide for each of his ap-

prentices a leathern cap, on the front of which shall be affixed a brass plate containing the name and place of abode of such Chimney-sweeper; which cap, with the plate, the apprentices shall always wear when out on duty.

That no Chimney-sweeper shall let out to hire to any other Chimney-sweeper, or other person, any of his apprentices.

That no Chimney-sweeper shall suffer any of his boys to call the streets before five o'clock in the morning in summer, nor before seven o'clock in winter, nor *ever* after twelve o'clock at noon.

That no Chimney-sweeper shall oblige his apprentice to go up any chimney which is on fire.

That every Chimney-sweeper shall provide for each of his apprentices warm and decent clothing (in which shoes and stockings are understood), to wear when on duty; and also, at least, once every year (over and above the climbing dress) one whole and complete suit of clothing, with suitable linen, stockings, hat, and shoes. And that he shall, at least, once in every week, cause each apprentice to be thoroughly washed and cleansed from soot and dirt; and cause him to attend the public worship of God on the sabbath day, and permit him to receive the benefit of any other religious instruction.

That no Chimney-sweeper shall suffer his apprentice to wear his sweeping dress on the Lord's day.

That every Chimney-sweeper shall provide for his apprentice competent and sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging, and apparel.

That every Chimney-sweeper offending in any of these instances shall, on conviction, pay a penalty not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five pounds; one half of which shall go to the informer, and the other half to the overseers for the use of the poor.

WANT OF PROVISION FOR THE INSANE IN IRELAND.

The following Address discloses a state of facts, which it is of great importance to press upon the public attention. We shall be extremely happy if any of our Irish correspondents will furnish us with details respecting this melancholy subject.

"It is earnestly and anxiously submitted to all Irishmen who interest themselves in affording relief to their countrymen suffering under the severest human afflictions, that the attention of the Legislature should be solicited to secure to such poor persons as are unhappily deranged in mind, an adequate provision for their support, and the application of every practicable means for the restoration of their mental faculties.

"In England, by the Act of 48th Geo. III. cap. 96, amended by a subsequent Act in 1811, provision has been made for the erection, in counties or districts of counties, of Asylums for Lunatics and Insane Persons, being paupers or criminals, and for their conveyance to such asylums at the public charge; and in the preamble to that Act the danger and inconvenience of uniting such asylums

with gaols, houses of correction, or houses of industry, are forcibly recognised. The manner in which that provision was organised in England, depending on their parochial system for the poor, rendered its extension to Ireland, in that form, impracticable; but the principle of the measure was considered by all who took part in the discussion, as at least equally necessary for this part of the United Kingdom.

"The very slender provision which establishments of this nature receive from the public, where any such exist in Ireland; the precarious tenure of that scanty provision, depending almost entirely on the manner in which this subject may affect the minds of Grand Juries, fluctuating in their composition, and consequently uncertain in their opinions; the connection of those asylums either with prisons or houses of industry, precluding the application of due means to prosecute, as far as may be, the attainment of cure or relief for these unhappy objects, from the incongruous nature of the institutions with which they are connected; the diversion of much of the funds properly belonging to the infirm poor who are not insane, to supply the deficiency in means allotted for the support of the lunatics—and the consideration that under the present system any county can at pleasure throw upon its more humane neighbours the burthen of supporting those whom it is more peculiarly its own duty to relieve, or suffer them to wander at large, unprotected and unprovided for, until the commission of some enormous crime shall place at the bar of justice an unhappy being divested of all responsibility for his actions:—

"All these causes have induced the Governors of the House of Industry of Waterford to entreat the friends of suffering humanity through Ireland, to unite with them in pressing on the consideration of Parliament in the ensuing Session, this work of Benevolence and Charity, the urgency of which, in the case of England, the Legislature has so recently and decidedly recognised.

"By Direction of a Board of Governors of the House of Industry of the County and City of Waterford specially convened for consideration of this subject, 14th October, 1813.

JOHN NEWPORT, Chairman,

SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

The Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Institution for extending Schools to All have taken place; their annual report is published; and there are various points relating to that great and important cause on which we are anxious to address our readers.—But the events which we have just mentioned took place too closely upon the date of our publication, to render it possible for us to do justice to the subject in our present Number. We have therefore been induced to defer it entirely to the next.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

No. XVI.

Considerations on the State of some of the Prisons in the Metropolis; with Remarks on the Proceedings of a Committee of the House of Commons on the subject.

THE PHILANTHROPIST having already laid before the public the state of the prisons in England as connected with the life of Mr. Howard, as well as drawn their attention to the more recent publication of the late Mr. Nield; it may be not unacceptable to its readers to have brought under their consideration the condition of some of the prisons in the metropolis which was the subject of a report of a committee of the House of Commons during the last session of parliament.

The origin of that committee was as follows:—The grand jury of the county of Middlesex having presented the state of the gaol of Newgate, Mr. Eden, the present Lord Auckland, gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion for the nomination of a committee to enquire into the condition of certain prisons in the metropolis. This notice as might be imagined excited some alarm among the city magistrates; and accordingly when the motion was made, one and all of the members for the City of London stated in their places their confidence that the enquiry would turn out to the credit of the magistrates: as usual, some taunts were thrown out; and Mr. Alderman Atkins endeavoured to charge Mr. Eden with the suspicion of being a rash and inconsiderate reformer; and rather of entertaining a desire to injure the character of the magistracy, than as having any rational expectation of pointing out abuses in these prisons which their neglect had suffered to exist, and which their exertions could remedy. Mr. Eden however held his course; in no ways impeded by the obstacles that were thrown in his way. The house seemed to feel that the soreness of the honourable alderman was at least suspicious; even Mr. Bragge Butcher had nothing to say in opposition to the motion for a

committee; and one was granted, which met on the 31st day of March 1814.

The first prison which the committee examined was that of Newgate. Mr. Newman the keeper stated, that as at present regulated it was able to hold 110 debtors and 317 criminal prisoners, making in all 427 persons. Mr. Box the surgeon gave it as his opinion that when the number exceeds 500, great danger of an infectious fever is to be apprehended: yet in January last the whole number of prisoners confined there amounted to 822.

All persons are admitted indiscriminately to Newgate to see both the felons and the debtors. On the debtors' side at any hour from nine in the morning to nine at night, summer as well as winter. On the felons side, from nine in the morning till seven or half past seven in the evening. Care is attempted to be taken that no spirituous liquors should be brought into the gaol, yet there seems to be no stint as to the quantity of beer and wine that may be procured by felons as well as by debtors; and it is not pretended to be disguised that drunkenness is most frequent among all classes of prisoners. We insert part of the examination of Mr. Newman.

“Are they punished if they get drunk?—No.

Are they allowed to get drunk with wine?—No! whenever we find them become riotous we shut out their friends; that is the only preventive.

And that is punishing the innocent with the guilty?—Certainly.

If they get drunk without being riotous you take no notice of it?—No.

In the regulations of the prison there is no one allowing you to inflict any specific punishment on drunkenness?—No; I do not think there is.”

The allowance of food to debtors is 14 ounces of bread a day, and eight stone of meat divided amongst all, but as each person's portion of this meat varies with the numbers in the prison, it forms but a precarious addition, and the whole is stated to be but barely sufficient, without the aid of friends, to support life. The manner of distribution is also bad; the bread which is given on alternate days, tempts the prisoner to eat in one day that which is meant for the allowance of two; besides, a prisoner brought to Newgate immediately after the hour of distribution, receives nothing for 48 hours, and may be six days without meat. On the felons side, the allowance of food is ten ounces of bread daily: common-side prisoners who are those of a poorer description, have eighteen stone of beef divided among them all,

and one pound of beef each on Saturdays by tale; they have besides in lieu of the four ounces of bread given to the debtors, an equal allowance in rice, potatoes, and fish, with coals to dress it.

To the debtors no coals, nor candles, nor mops, nor pails are given; those on the master's side provide themselves with these necessities, and those on the common side procure them by subscription and garnish, and by means of the various charities and legacies.

On the criminal side 20*l.* a year is given by the city to find mops and brooms, but fuel is sparingly allowed.

No bedding is provided, nor straw, for either felons or debtors. The poorer prisoners sleep on the boards between two rugs given by the city, and those who can afford it hire beds at sixpence a night, from persons who carry on that traffic within the prison.

Garnish is demanded from all the prisoners on their admission; it varies in the different wards from thirteen shillings to one guinea. Inability or unwillingness to pay, the prisoners punish by keeping the defaulters from the fire, and not allowing them to partake of the charities of the prison.

From every debtor, those of the court of conscience excepted, a fee is due to the sheriff for his writ of liberate, amounting in Middlesex to four shillings for the first action, and two shillings and sixpence for every other. In London the demand is higher, and besides this, six shillings and tenpence may be demanded by the gaoler, and two shillings by the turnkey, and the prisoner kept in confinement till these fees be paid. The committee express a regret that any such right exists, however the evidence before them on the part of Mr. Newman proves that as far as he is concerned, these fees are not rigorously exacted, but that the poor and necessitous are set at liberty without being compelled to pay them. For the discharge of each felon eighteen shillings and tenpence are paid to the gaoler; for every misdemeanor, fourteen shillings and tenpence; for every transport, the same sum. Now though we are very ready to give credit to Mr. Newman, that he does not exact his fees with severity, yet we know from witnesses to these exactions on the part of his servants that they are at times carried to great severity. It has been stated to the writer of this, that not long ago, a gentleman interested in the fate of one of the prisoners, visited him in prison a few days before his trial, and after some conversation, gave him a shilling on his leaving him. The turnkey came up, and our informant overheard the following conversation.—“Well,

are you prepared to pay your fees? what did the gentleman give you? *you shall pay them or I will have them out of your bones*, the poor fellow gave up his shilling as part of payment, and burst into tears." Innocence or guilt here does not augment or lessen the cruelty of the transaction, but we have pleasure in stating that the man was innocent of the charge brought against him and was acquitted. The keeper of Newgate receives a salary of 450*l.* a year, in addition to which all *the fees* and rents are paid to him, and from this fund he pays the servants of the prison, above which expense an income remains to himself varying from 600*l.* to 1000*l.* per annum.

The medical department is under Mr. Box, he receives a salary of 150*l.* a year, in addition to which the city repays to him the price of the medicines used. The gaol is healthy, the average annual number of deaths from 1802 being nine: since that period no fatal case of infection has occurred; and the committee report their satisfaction as to this branch of the management of the prison.

The ordinary, Dr. Ford, receives a salary of 250*l.* a year, and is provided with a house. It appears by the report and the evidence that is annexed to it on the part of Dr. Ford himself, that the attendance in the chapel is entirely voluntary, that the greatest disorder prevails there, that the women are exposed to the view of the men, that previous to his entering the chapel, riotous and indecorous conversation takes place between them, and that the congregation is noisy and troublesome. The keeper himself never attends, and only three or four of the turnkeys are present, a number very insufficient to preserve order. The sacrament is never administered but to the condemned. Beyond his attendance in chapel and on those who are sentenced to death, Dr. Ford feels but few duties are attached to his office; he knows nothing of the state of morals of the prison; he never sees any of the prisoners in private, though fourteen boys and girls from nine to thirteen years of age, were in Newgate in April last:—he does not consider any attention to them a point of his duty; he does not know that any have been sick till he gets a warning to attend their funeral, and does not go to the infirmary for it is not in his instructions.

The committee praise, as it deserves, the conduct of Mr. Newman; and that Newgate is not worse than it is, the public owe not to the laws and adaptations of the place, but to his humane and excellent management.

The committee proceeded to examine the different Compters, which though under one roof are kept by two gaolers—they are

called the Giltspur Street, the Poultry, and the Ludgate Compters.—The Giltspur Street and Ludgate are under the care of Mr. Teague, and that of the Poultry is under Mr. Kirby. Ludgate is divided from the other two, and has a separate entrance; but the Giltspur Street and Poultry prisoners are in many instances in a careless and complicated arrangement mingled together: these two last Compters can conveniently hold 89 debtors and 56 criminals, and on April 14, there were 68 of the first, and 55 of the last.

The allowance to the debtors is 10 ounces of bread per day, distributed each alternate day, and six pounds of potatoes weekly for each prisoner. The sheriff gives in addition seven stone of meat on every Saturday to be divided among all the prisoners. Mops and brooms are furnished by the city, but no coals or candles; these articles of necessity are bought with the garnish and subscriptions, and the produce of the charities which amount in the Poultry to 76*l.* and in Giltspur street to 52*l.* per annum. Besides which the lord mayor and the sheriffs, and other persons occasionally send donations. To each class of debtors a day room is supplied, the bedroom is furnished with bedsteads, and to each prisoner are given two rugs, and a canvass ticking filled with straw which is changed as often as requisite.

The criminals are allowed ten ounces of bread per day, and six pound of potatoes weekly, but no meat—to every cell a canvass tick is given, and two rugs to each prisoner.

The friends of the prisoners are permitted to come indiscriminately among them, and the same liberty is allowed in respect to the purchase of wine and beer as in Newgate. The committee object in their report to the practice of the turnkeys being the agents of the publicans, and receiving a remuneration in proportion to the quantity they sell. Garnish exists here as in Newgate. The fees are the same in both Counters, 14*s.* 8*d.* on being bailed, or discharged upon commitment or conviction. The committee remark upon a fee of 3*s.* 6*d.* payable upon night charges, when discharged before a magistrate. "A person is taken up at night upon suspicion, he passes the night in gaol, the suspicion is in the morning proved to be groundless, and he is called upon to pay for his liberation: all fees on acquittal are abolished by act of parliament. Surely in cases where no ground even exists for proceeding to trial, none ought to be exacted."

The salary of the keepers is 280*l.* per annum each, besides which Mr. Teague receives 100*l.* per annum, as keeper of Ludgate, in addition to which the fire and rents of the prisons are paid to the gaolers, who pay the servants.

There is also a surgeon with a fixed salary, and a chaplain, Mr. Davis, who though old, and we understand lately retired upon a pension, has done the duty of his office in an exemplary manner. The chapel is described as being well attended, part of the allowance being withheld from those who neglect the duty of public worship.

Ludgate is a prison only for debtors who are freemen, or the widows of freemen of the city of London, the number of prisoners was 20, and had been 44, though the accommodations are sufficient only for 24. The allowance of food is better than in the other two Compters, ten stone of meat being given weekly among the whole number of prisoners, besides the usual allowance of bread, and they are much assisted by a fund of charities, amounting to 87*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* per annum, besides legacies given in bread, coals, and meat. They have rugs only allowed as bedding. Garnish also is levied as in the other prisons. The chaplain, Dr. Rose, is reported to be most attentive to his duty, and assiduous in paying visits to the prisoners. He complained, however, of the want of a private room in which he might converse with them, a want which we confidently hope will be soon supplied.

The fees are small, one shilling when a person comes in, and two when he goes out; besides threepence a week during confinement. These fees are stated by the gaoler to be paid by different charities if the prisoner is unable to pay them, and *that there is scarcely a debtor who goes out without some assistance.* Now as the debtors in Ludgate are described by the same evidence as forming a better class of persons, who can afford to bring their beds with them, and the fees they are called upon to pay being remarkably small, some estimate may be formed of the distress that their levying occasions, where the amount is larger, and the description of debtors more poor.

The Borough Compter is under the original jurisdiction of the lord mayor of London, aldermen, and common council, who have granted a deputation of the gaol with the custody of the prisoners to Sir Watkin Lewes, as connected with the office of bailiff of the borough of Southwark. Mr. John Law is at present the acting gaoler. It is a small prison used for night charges, the prisoners are but seldom committed there; a fee of two shillings is exacted on the discharge of each prisoner, though the warrant of Sir Watkin Lewes's appointment prohibits himself or his gaoler from taking any fees for the admission, detainer, or discharge of any prisoner, who is or shall be committed on a charge of felony, misdemeanour, or breach of

the peace. The remainder of the prison is used for debtors arrested by process from the borough court and court of requests, the number of the three last years has been

1811. From Borough Court	3	From Court of Requests	251.
1812.	5	318.
1813.	3	307.

The average number at any time is from twenty to twenty-five; on the 4th of April, there were only twelve, having among them twenty children. The debtor from the borough court, pays a fee on his discharge of 10s. 10d. those from the court of requests are exonerated by statute from the payment of fees if they remain in prison during the whole term of their imprisonment, but if the debtor compound and pay his debt before that period, he becomes liable to a caption fee of five shillings, or more in proportion to the amount and number of his debts. The committee on visiting this prison, found two persons who *were remaining in confinement solely from their inability to pay this fee.*

The term of imprisonment is limited in the following manner.

For all sums under 5s. and up to 20s.	20 days
Above 20s. and not exceeding 40s.	40 do.
Above 40s. and not exceeding 5l.	60 do.
Above 5l. and not exceeding 5l.	100 do.

But for every separate debt, a further term of imprisonment is imposed in proportion to its amount, debtors are sometimes here for a debt of one shilling. The food allowed to each prisoner was a twopenny loaf, no coals, nor mops, nor brooms, nor bedding, nor straw;—no chaplain, no surgeon: twelve old worn-out rugs, and not so many tattered blankets, were all that were supplied for thirty people who slept on the floor.

Prior to the committee visiting the prison, and immediately upon receiving from Mr. Law the gaoler on the 22d of March, an account of the state of the prison, the court of aldermen sent proper persons to inspect its condition and repair it. It appeared however, in evidence, that on the 18th of September, 1813, a petition was presented to Mr. Alderman Scholey, then lord mayor of London, signed by twenty-two persons confined within the borough prison, setting forth their great distress, their want of food, and there being no allowance of coals or candles; the deficiency of bedding, and the tattered condition of the rugs and blankets. The lord mayor gave this letter to Mr. Kirby, keeper of the Poultry compter, who appears to have given himself and the lord mayor no further trouble upon this subject, but returned it to Mr. Law some time in February, so that the winter

months of December and January were passed by the wretched prisoners in the manner stated in their petition. Mr. Law says in his evidence, that he gave a copy of the petition (which he afterwards presented to the court of aldermen on the 21st of March) in the same month of February to Sir Watkin Lewes, who objected to it as being informal, and, like his master the lord mayor, took no further notice of the subject. A question was asked of Mr. Law by the committee, if Sir Watkin Lewes visited the prison at the period to ascertain if the complaints were well founded or not; and the answer returned was, *No; he did not.* And it is further said by the same witness, that the prison was in no worse condition than it had been for three years before. It cannot be forgotten that between the time that Mr. Alderman Scholey read the petition, as lord mayor, and neglected to take any steps to inquire as to the truth of the complaints, and the 22d of March, the miserable inhabitants of this prison were suffering the extremity of cold and hunger in a winter perhaps one of the most severe the oldest person can remember. At last, however, after six months delay, Mr. Law presented his petition. Mr. Eden's motion took place nearly about the same period, and though we do not say that the court of aldermen would have been so culpably negligent of their duty as Mr. Alderman Scholey and Sir Watkin Lewes, yet we cannot help suspecting they were stimulated to active exertions by that fortunate and praiseworthy action. The Committee, when they examined the prison, found it repairing, but the writer of this article visited it in the early part of the month of March, in one of the severest days of that cold season. There was scarcely a pane of glass in any of the windows, and the prisoners were huddled together, men and women, in one confined room, endeavouring to keep themselves warm over a small fire, that had hardly fuel enough to keep it lighted; they all complained heavily of cold and hunger.

Upon the state of this prison Mr. Nield wrote a letter to the lord mayor, in 1804, setting forth the wants of the poor prisoners; to this letter he got no answer; yet upon making application to Mr. Alderman Combe some relief was obtained. Mr. Law told the Committee that many of the rugs were sent by Mr. Nield, and that no magistrate since he had been gaoler had entered the walls of the prison. To us it appears clear that the city magistrates cannot exculpate themselves from the guilt of negligence by pleading that the gaol was not considered as under their jurisdiction: setting aside the palpable absurdity of the city of London having the appointment of the gaoler and no care of the gaol, in point of fact the Borough

Compter has several times been repaired at its expense. In 1801 a committee was appointed to inspect it; the windows were repaired and glazed, and the prison white-washed and swept. Mr. Law added that in 1811 or 12 the windows were repaired. We do not doubt that when the statement of the wants and distresses of the prisoners, and the condition of the gaol were represented to the court of aldermen, the known liberality and benevolence of that respectable body would have granted relief. What seems to deserve condemnation is not an indisposition to grant money, but to give attention and bestow time in that minute examination of the condition of the prisoners under their care, which is paid by various magistrates in all parts of the country. We cannot indeed exculpate Mr. Alderman Scholey for his neglect in not seeing that an inquiry was set on foot as to the petition which he received in September 1813. But as far as regards Sir Watkin Lewes, it is most clear that the duties of his situation have not been performed by him. In his own evidence it appears that he does not consider himself as gaoler or keeper, though his appointment expressly designates him as such; he is much offended at being considered to hold the situation, and seems to have forgotten the name of his office, no less than the duties that belong to it. The excuses that he made for not presenting the petition, and indeed for not having long ago made a formal representation of the state of the prison, were of the most futile kind. When pressed to name any person to whom he made such representations, he could specify no one but the clerk of the works, who, when examined, positively denied that any such had been made to him. The fact of Sir Watkin Lewes giving no salary to the keeper, Mr. Law, but in its place bestowing on him an office inconsistent with the discharge of his duty and his attendance in the prison; but above all, the general carelessness of his whole conduct call imperiously upon the court of aldermen to mark their sense of it. It is just to add, that the prison is now repaired, and, though rather slow in their way of doing it, the city of London have provided beds for the prisoners; an additional allowance of food has been given, and a chaplain and surgeon ordered to attend.

On a careful perusal of this report and the evidence attached to it, the leading facts of which we have endeavoured accurately to detail, we feel ourselves called upon to offer some observations to the consideration of the public. On turning to the works of Mr. Howard, the first thing that struck us was the remarkable circumstance that no change has taken place in the management of the prisons since he wrote his book in the year 1783,

when the present gaol of Newgate was finished, the old one having been destroyed by the rioters in 1780. In the first place, the *pecuniary* allowance of bread is the same as in 1782; the weight of a two-penny loaf was then eighteen ounces, and within these few years it has been little more than six ounces. Now, though we are very far from entertaining the opinion of Sir William Curtis, who accused those who were solicitous of bettering the condition of the prisoners of a wish to indulge them with luxuries, and furnish the prisons with Turkey carpets, yet considering that the law looks upon the accused as innocent till they are proved to be guilty; that a prison is but a place of safe custody; that, to the guilty even, starvation and the ill health consequent upon scanty food, form no part of the sentence of the law; that it is some hardship to the debtor to inclose him within four walls in order to compel him to pay his debt, without furnishing him with work to gain his livelihood, and without supplying him with food to support his existence;—we cannot help feeling both surprise and indignation that all these things have hitherto called in vain for the interference of the legislature. But thanks to the Committee of the House of Commons, these appeals to the humanity and justice of the public are now heard by the magistrates of the city of London; at length new regulations are to be made, and before the session of Parliament closed additional food was ordered to the prisoners in the gaols within their jurisdiction.

The want of room, and the consequent crowded state of the prisons in London, form no doubt a sufficient excuse for the fact of there not being a separation of the prisoners into different classes. But that this want of room should have been complained of so long, and that no remedy should have been even attempted till within these two years, when the new prison (about which we shall hereafter have some remarks to offer) was ordered to be built, appears to us, when we travel through England and see the gaols that have been constructed in the different counties, not creditable to the metropolis of the empire. At present, however, an improvement is about to take place: the debtors from the three compters and from Newgate are to be removed to the new prison, and the others are to be used for the purpose of separating the prisoners into distinct classes, as well as giving more room for their accommodation. We cannot avoid pressing upon the attention of the magistrates the necessity of some strict regulation upon the former subject. No one can minutely examine into the state of any prison but must find that there are many persons confined there whose misfortunes more

than their crimes have placed them within its walls ; the old offender, the young beginner, the innocent no less than the guilty, are here crowded together. Dr. Johnson remarks that "in a prison the check of the public eye is removed, and the power of the law is spent ; there are few fears, there are no blushes, every one fortifies himself as he can against his own remaining sensibility, endeavouring to practise upon others the arts that are practised on himself, and to gain the applause of his worst associates by imitating their manners." In these academies and seminaries of vice, idleness appears to be the greatest evil. The respectable and humane Mr. Newman, the present keeper of Newgate, though as the gaol is now circumstanced, thinks it might be difficult to establish any system of industry, yet recommends under other modes of management the introduction of work. In the metropolis, if pains were taken, no doubt it could be procured. It is however true, that of the numbers who fill the gaols by far the greatest part are there for the crimes which bad habits, the result of idleness, have produced ; yet even among these many may be found who might, by the prospect of some little gain, be induced to spend their time better than in rioting with their companions, in listening to tales of low debauchery, or of successful fraud ; herding together with men who have passed their lives in breaking the law, and in eluding its punishments. Sir John Fielding observes that "a prisoner discharged generally, by the next session after the execution of his comrades, becomes the head of a gang of his own raising ;"—the result, no doubt, of the lessons he has been taught, and the company he has kept while in prison. We entreat then the magistrates of the city of London to look to the separation, the classification, and the employment of the prisoners in the different gaols. Much remains yet to be done, we are at present but young beginners in the beneficent work. They must not be deterred by the seeming difficulties of the task, which will vanish as they proceed ; and we feel assured that if half the labour was given to this subject which is voluntarily bestowed by those who manage the different charitable institutions in the metropolis, there could be no doubt of complete success.

There is evidence before the Committee which must wound the heart of every moral and considerate man within the empire. On the 14th of April there were in Newgate seven prisoners for trial, boys and girls under fifteen years of age, and seven under sentence for transportation, two of whom were for burglary, *and condemned for life, though only nine years of age.* Mr. Newman had endeavoured to separate the boys from the other pri-

soners, and had consequently placed them in a room by themselves; but there being no yard for their use, he was apprehensive of their health being injured if they were not removed soon. It is with pain we find by his evidence that though sentenced to transportation these children were first to be sent to the hulks; that is to say, to be removed from a place where the benevolence of the keeper had kept them from the contagion of the manners of a gaol, to be delivered over to a school of vice and crime we believe unparalleled in Europe.

The condition of the women in Newgate is most deplorable. Sixty-seven women were there on the 14th of April all mixed together, and there have been as many at once in the prison as 134. Though not allowed by the regulations, it is permitted for women to bring their children with them, and girls of eighteen years of age have been with their mothers. Frequently too children of a tender age are confined there for punishment or for trial. In the last session but one, a girl (an infant to speak more properly) of nine years of age was there for a considerable time under sentence, confined with women of all descriptions. What this society is, may be imagined from Mr. Newman's evidence, who, though praising the behaviour of the women then in Newgate as orderly, yet added that instances of drunkenness, pilfering, and swearing were most frequent.

In Giltspur-street compter the Committee, in the visit they made there, found two men for not being able to give security on a charge of bastardy, and one for a common assault and unable to find bail, confined, in the same yard (or, more properly speaking, passage, for it is but five feet wide, though about thirty feet long, the sleeping cells opening into it) with men charged with felony, and obliged every night to sleep in the same bed with two of their fellow prisoners. Upon these facts we make no comment, wishing however to add that we ourselves visited the prison some short time after the Committee, and found there a fresh arrival of prisoners, some of them boys of thirteen or fourteen years of age, confined for some trifling offences, and mixed with persons charged with felonies.

Religious and moral duties seem to be almost entirely neglected. The keeper of Newgate never attends, and those of Ludgate, Giltspur-street, and the Poultry, seldom if ever attend chapel. Dr. Ford was asked by the Committee if one of the sheriffs did not sometimes attend the performance of divine service; his answer was, "*I cannot say that they do; some have been very assiduous in their duty, and some are shocked with the appearance of things.*" This indeed they might well be; for we verily believe

that a greater mockery of all religion seldom takes place than in the weekly celebration of the Sabbath in the gaol of Newgate.

There is also a practice in that prison which we notice for the purpose of reprobation, and with the hope of a remedy. We allude to a sort of theatric representation which is made at a condemned sermon. It is then customary to expose the condemned prisoners to public view, and to place in the centre of the chapel, on a table, a coffin covered with black cloth. Dr. Ford says the audience is considerable, and that the debtors attend *on these days of curiosity*. We have no doubt that all this is very true; but for our part, however laudable might have been the motives of the original inventors of this unseemly show, we profess to judge of it only by its effects. It is in evidence that "none but the hardened will endure being so exposed, and that there are a hundred schemes tried to avoid it; those that have been in a better situation of life, and those brought there for a first offence, would rather be executed over and over again, if it were possible, than be exposed in such a manner. On the last Sunday, of the seven condemned prisoners only three attended; one of the absent four was a Catholic, and the other three pleaded being dissenters to escape being exposed by going into the chapel." These facts are stated by Dr. Ford, and upon these grounds, as well as upon many others, we think the practice bad, and the sooner it ceases the better.

We cannot here refrain from inserting a question put to Dr. Ford, and his answer, as the subject is one that bears strongly upon the state of our morals, and is to our minds the principal cause of the frequency of crimes. Dr. Ford was asked if he had ever taken notice of the proportion of felons condemned to death who can write or read. His answer was, "No, never; but I had once twelve people in the condemned pew, as respectably dressed men to all appearance as need be; I should not have been ashamed to have sat down with them at a public table; and there was not one of them who knew how to open a book or look for a letter."

There is a part of the management of the prison of Newgate which calls for some remedy, though we are aware that the subject is full of difficulties. We refer to the practice of removing all prisoners of all descriptions who will pay a fee of 13s. 6d. at their coming in, and half-a-crown afterwards for their bedding, from the common side, and to what is called the master's side of the prison. Now though we are ready to allow that it is but just that there should be some distinctions in a gaol, and that persons of a better situation in life (innocent perhaps) and above

the class of ordinary offenders, should have superior accommodations, yet the possession of money is not the best test; we cannot refrain from thinking that the man whose crimes have made him rich, or whose associates are willing to support him while in prison, has not the best claim to indulgence. Some plan surely might be devised by which the man who, on every account but that of inability to pay for it, is entitled to the mildest treatment, should not be condemned to the worst.

We mentioned in a former part of this paper that a new prison was building. The committee visited it, and had the plans laid before them, and from their report it certainly gave them no satisfaction:—The building is not fire proof; the sleeping wards are too large; the space too confined; and when the interior of the prison is divided as it is proposed to be, according to the different gaols of Newgate, Giltspur-street, Poultry, and Ludgate, and again subdivided into master's side, common side, and women's side, there will not be more room or perhaps so much convenience as in the existing prisons.—We too have examined it, and have no hesitation in condemning the whole plan. It is a great waste of public money, and will cost 100,000*l.* at least, drawn out of the orphan's fund. The building is bad, unseemly, and injudiciously arranged; external appearance and security seeming to have been chiefly attended to. The committee found the city members holding the same opinion as themselves as to the necessity of some alteration in this building, and all expressing a regret that it was so far advanced as to preclude many of those changes which, under other circumstances, would have been advisable.—We venture to recommend that the management of the prison should be placed under one gaoler, though the prisoners in the Ludgate division, as free-men of London, may have a part to themselves. This plan, though it will not remedy all the evils of a badly constructed prison, yet it will remove many of those that will arise if the system at present proposed be persevered in. An act of Parliament is necessary to do this, and we hope to hear of one being introduced for that purpose in the next session. The Magistrates of the city of London have much to do to establish a better system of prison management; it is not to be done by censuring their inferior servants, displacing a chaplain, or making numerous and excellent regulations. A change for the better can alone be effected by the most scrupulous attention *in having these rules observed*; by the visiting magistrates employing their eyes and ears, and not praising what they have never examined; and reporting all to be right, because the persons whose conduct

it is their duty to inspect assure them that it is so:—We wish to speak of them, as individuals, with praise; but exercising the right of free discussion on their conduct as public servants, we hope the future will be better than the past.

In consequence of this report of the Committee of the House of Commons, two bills were brought into Parliament, one by Mr. Holford, for the better regulation of the prisons and gaols within the jurisdiction of the city of London; and the other by Mr. Bennet, for the abolition of gaol and other fees connected with the gaols in England and Scotland.

By the first bill it was proposed that instead of the gaols of the city of London being under the sole control and management of the magistrates of the city, a committee should be formed, consisting of four aldermen, and twelve of the common council, together with the Lord Mayor, under whose united care should be placed the various prisons. This committee was to be chosen by the common council, and a proportion of it to go out annually by lot, to be replaced by others; so that at the end of four years the whole would be changed. To this committee was to be given full power and jurisdiction over all the prisoners. They were to nominate and to remove all chaplains, servants, gaolers, and officers belonging to their respective gaols, and to make proper rules and regulations for the government and treatment of the prisoners therein. Three were to be a quorum of the Committee, and they were to meet every fortnight at one of the prisons. They had also power given them to appoint from time and time two or more of their members as visitors, who should personally inspect the different prisons as often as occasion should require, and redress any grievance that might have occurred. The orders were to be given in writing, and to be reported at the next meeting of the Committee. All the aldermen of the city of London were to have power to enter and visit the prisons, and report in writing to the Committee any abuses they might have discovered, and their observations thereon.—These were the leading articles of the bill, the object of which was to establish some permanent board, the sole duty of which should be to examine the condition of the prisons. In this manner a much better than the existing chance would have been afforded, both for the introduction of good rules and regulations, and a punctual observation of them. As things have long existed, the visit of the magistrate is little better than one of form and ceremony, having no practical result but that worst of all results—an appearance of attention to the condition of the prisoners, and of control over the gaoler, neither of which ~~may~~ practically exist. This bill of Mr. Holford, and the speech with which it was ac-

accompanied, were received by the House of Commons with the greatest applause; but the city magistrates, considering themselves as injured, and their authority attacked, rallied all their friends, and threw out the bill. The subject was however thoroughly sifted and discussed; the city members were repeatedly beaten in the progress of the bill through the House, and it was rejected at last by a very small majority at a late hour of the night. Though the bill be lost, the city magistrates are pledged to reform, and have already begun to redeem that pledge by the establishment of new rules and regulations, and by a system of supervisal and care which, if continued, will ameliorate, at no very late period, the condition of the prisons of the metropolis.

The bill of Mr. Bennet went to abolish all gaol fees paid or payable at the entrance or discharge of any prisoner, likewise all fees due to clerks of the peace or assize, as well as those which the sheriff demands from the debtor for his writ of liberate; compensation was to be made to the holders of these offices for all lawful fees, to be paid out of the county, or town, or poor rates, upon certificate upon oath, the warrant to be signed by the judges of assize and justices of the quarter sessions. This bill passed the Commons without opposition, though some clauses were added to it by the city members, in order to raise money for defraying the expenses of, and repairing, the prisons, it being stated that the loss of fees would make a deficit in the prison revenue of near 3000*l.* per annum. These clauses were unfortunately and rather hastily adopted. They were the cause why the bill was dropped in the Lords. We understand that when the bill was in committee in the House of Lords, its principle was unanimously approved of. Lord Ellenborough suggested some few alterations, but was particularly severe on the city clauses. The Lords not being willing to pass the bill without altering it, which they could not do in a money bill without insuring its being thrown out by the Commons, the further progress of it was abandoned, and the bill was dropped for that session of Parliament. We trust, however, and we have reason to believe, that it will be revived next year, and we hope it will be so constructed as to pass both Houses of Parliament. The bill appears to us a measure that is much wanted. It will, in point of fact, relieve more distress than can well be imagined, except by those who have been accustomed to visit the different prisons in the empire. We trust that the state of the prisons in general will be brought before Parliament, and we received the greatest satisfaction from a notice given by Mr. Bennet that such was his intention at a future session.

The Catacombs: an Allegory.

To the EDITOR of THE PHILANTHROPIST.

THE following Allegory is translated from a work written in the French language more than a hundred years ago: the insertion of it in the next Number of THE PHILANTHROPIST will oblige

A CONSTANT READER.

A certain necromancer has left us the following relation in his memoirs.

Between Arabia Petrea and the northern extremity of the Persian gulf lies a subterraneous country of vast extent, which is called the Catacombs.

The inhabitants of that place are born with very weak eyes, and are very oddly formed in other respects. The obscurity of the country suits them in all regards. They cannot bear the light without feeling the most violent pain. We are told, however, that the sun has in that country a different property from what it has in ours; that it insensibly cures all indispositions of the eye; that those who have courage enough to expose themselves to its heat, and bear the pain it causes at first, accustom themselves to it by degrees, and in time come to have no apprehensions from it.

We are likewise told that those whom the light has penetrated most directly, and thus cured most perfectly, love it so as to be unable to live without it.

This country, though its darkness differs but little from our night, is not entirely inaccessible to some rays of the sun. The inhabitants can allow it entrance more or less as they please by little wickets, which it is in their power to open or shut. These wickets are placed at openings made in the rock, for allowing a passage for the light.

Beside the inlets which the light may have through these wickets, there are here and there little paths, through which the light makes its way by several windings. These paths are a sort of turnings, which always run upwards, and are full of stones, each of them serving as a step.

As the people go up, the light grows stronger and less indirect; and they begin to feel something of the sun's heat, in proportion as they are enlightened by it.

These paths, which extend several leagues, terminate below in the dark country, or the kingdom of the Catacombs ; and above issue into the light country in a vast plain.

The inhabitants of the dark country can, by means of their paths, hold some communication with those of the light country : they may even be led to it if they please ; as the inhabitants of the light country may, in their turn, go down into the dark country.

It appears from the memoirs left us by historians, that those different people have but little inclination to visit one another : that most of them have a very great aversion to it, which they cannot prevail with themselves to overcome.

This aversion may be accounted for in the following manner : To begin with those of the gloomy regions ; it is easy to conceive that the pain they feel from the light is one of the chief causes of it. Besides, they are born in that country ; they find there not only all necessaries of life, but likewise all that can render it agreeable. The darkness is so far from being a grievance, that it is even pleasant to them. They have the secret of making lamps, the light of which doth not affect their eyes like that of the sun. By that light they discern objects, and make several works.

These people are very laborious ; and abound in manufactures of all sorts, proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants. Art supplies them with what nature has not afforded.

As their sight is extremely weak, most of their manufactures are employed for relieving them in that point. This relief consists in an almost infinite variety of glasses of all sorts. These glasses are so artfully made, that they do not appear like those made in Europe. Some of them are designed for magnifying objects ; others for telescopes. They have glasses well coloured, which communicate the same colours to the object ; others are proper for embellishing, and hiding, or at least extenuating all deformities.

Beside these different qualities, they have one which is peculiar to them ; they may serve as looking-glasses. Thus it is easy for a man who holds them, to see himself in what light he pleases, and give himself embellishing colours. The worst is, that others, who are masters of the same secret, often strip him of those borrowed colours, and expose his natural ugliness to view.

As to the inhabitants of the light country, it is not surprising that they cannot prevail with themselves to go down into the gloomy regions. They have suffered too much in leaving

them. After having endured, in long and troublesome roads, all the pain the sun can give to weak eyes, the light is grown familiar to them, and they are as well pleased with it as if it was their own element. By the same light, they at one glance discern both persons and things. They have no further occasion for glasses; which now would even hinder them from seeing, or, at least, from viewing objects as they are; and they are no longer in the humour of seeing them disguised. They have likewise lost the inclination to borrowing colours for giving them beauty in their own eyes or those of others. The light which, by a quality peculiar to that country, serves them as a mirror, gives them a distinct view of their remaining defects: they are willing to see their own imperfections, and have them visible to others.

After this account, are we to be surprised that the gloomy country, and the manner of living there, are become insupportable to them? not to mention the stifling air of that country; an air that nothing purifies; and which must be infected by exhalations from the bodies pent up in it. This air, compared to that breathed by the inhabitants of the light country, would pass rather for a fog that hinders respiration, than an air proper to promote it.

We read in the *Memoirs of* that a young African, who was conducted by a genius to view the several curiosities of the world, travelled into these two countries. I shall here give you his own account of them both. I pass by his description of the situation of the country, to come to the historical part.

The genius who instructed me, says he, having shown the different situation of these two kingdoms, and the passages from one to the other, put me on observing the different manners of the inhabitants, and gave me some pieces of history concerning them, which he tells me are worthy of credit.

These two people, said he, have one common origin. It is related, that they were all at first placed in the country of light, and were well treated by the king of that country; but that an accident befalling them, which prejudiced their eyes, and at the same time made them deformed in other respects, obliged them to fly from the light, and seek a retreat in the Catacombs: that, having found an asylum suitable to their indisposition, they settled there, and set up the manufactures we now see among them.

I then asked my genius, whence came those men who at present inhabit the country of light?

They quitted the Catacombs, said he, at the repeated invitations of the king of light. We are told that the same prince,

moved with compassion for those distempered people, continued to press their return: that, for that purpose, he directed the making of those paths, which insensibly lead from one country to the other: that he sent them repeated messages, with letters patent, assuring them the light they so much dreaded was the only remedy that could cure them: he mentioned the persons sent to them as so many witnesses of the truth of what he said. Those messengers being taken from among them, had been courageous enough to expose themselves to the heat of the sun, and thus came in time not to fear it.

History tells us, those messengers were received more or less favourably according to the different periods of time in which they appeared: that great numbers of them were ill treated and even persecuted, not as messengers from the king, but as impostors: that, however, the letters patent were registered in the public annals: that after the death of those messengers, both they and the letters were held in great veneration: that they were restored to the title of the king's messengers, and the letters to that of royal patents.

Beside all this, as these letters came from the country of light, and were only so many evidences in its favour, they insensibly received the appellation of light. Hence the name of light is become familiar to the inhabitants of the gloomy regions. As the name of the king of light has in all times been honoured by them, as still professing themselves his subjects, every one was desirous of being furnished with the letters of light: every one valued himself on asserting their excellency; their name and that of the king echoed from all parts.

It is very remarkable that, the same prince having from time to time sent messengers with such letters, they were all ill treated. But what is still more surprising is, the king's son, appearing to confirm the testimony of his messengers, was taken for the greatest impostor of all, and put to death as such.

Seized with astonishment at an event so incredible, I asked my genius, whether the king's son was provided with such letters patent as were proper to make him known to his subjects.

He was, replied he, provided with most authentic testimonies, beside the evidences given of him in the other letters patent. Were not those former letters consulted? said I. They were, answered my genius; and it was by those very letters that they thought themselves authorized to reject him.

Some differences they found between the former letters, and those brought by the king's son, were sufficient for making them not know him. This, at least, was their pretence; but at the

bottom, it was their aversion to the light, for which the prince had opened a passage more than all the former messengers had done. Besides, the testimony which he gave engaged great numbers of the inhabitants to walk in the narrow paths : the credit of glasses began to decline : several persons ventured to open the little wickets, in order to accustom themselves to the impressions of the light, and view objects by it.

The wickets being a little opened, let too strong a light into the country. Beside what their eyes suffered from it, they discovered deformities, which till then had been hid : a remedy must be found for an evil that might be attended with such pernicious consequences, and convert the kingdom of the Catacombs into a desert. This was prudently performed by cutting off not only the prince himself, but all his subjects, who came after him to bear testimony of him.

Now begins a new epocha. Soon after the prince's death, he was acknowledged as the king's son : the act of those who had put him to death was looked on with horror : his history was recorded, as also that of his servants, and the testimonies they had borne of him : their writings were received as even more authentic than those of the former messengers.

Here I asked my genius, whether these last testimonies given to light had engaged any number of the inhabitants to walk in the narrow paths.

Some, replied he, ran to them with eagerness immediately after the prince's death ; but means were soon found for barricading the avenues. At first people were intimidated by cruelties ; but, it being observed that these only enhanced the desire of making their way to the country of light, a milder method was employed, which succeeded better in keeping men within the kingdom of the Catacombs.

This method consisted in proving to them that the country where they lived was part of the kingdom of light ; and that they really enjoyed it, was evident from their being in possession of the letters of light, and their being proposed to all the inhabitants as the only rule of their conduct. In order to facilitate the reception of them, and relieve the weakness of their sight, new glasses were invented, more nicely made than the former ; several sorts of them were delivered to each man. By the assistance of these glasses, new discoveries were every day made in the letters or book of light. Never was people more enlightened.

But there is an inconvenience remaining. As the same glasses serve to colour objects, and give them several forms, according as each man managed them, the contrarieties found in

the book of light were as numerous as the glasses made for showing contrarieties. One saw black, where another saw white. Some perceived mountains, where others found only some grains of sand ; in short, every one saw in them the road he was pleased to choose, as clear as the sun at noon-day. Thus a division has been introduced between the inhabitants of the same kingdom, between those who agree in receiving the same book of light, and call themselves children of light. From that time they have been separated and distinguished one from the other by different liveries, and different surnames ; but not one of the parties would quit the title of partisan of light. At the same time they charged one another reciprocally with being sectaries of the kingdom of darkness.

As the followers of each party saw objects through glasses made by those of his own, every one accused the glasses made elsewhere of disfiguring objects, and presenting black for white. Every one was ready to lend his neighbour the glasses he used, as the only true ones, which show things as they are.

I then inquired of my genius how long this contest had been depending. Above sixteen hundred years, said he, in relation to the substance and essence. For the division was not so evident at first ; but the matter may be traced still higher in the first regard.

I asked whether any one is accused of being the author of this division. Some, replied, he, attribute it to the policy of the prince of the Catacombs, who is, they say, at the bottom of this affair, though he does not appear in it. It is thought his design was by this means to detain his subjects in his kingdom ; and, by amusing them with disputes on the book of light, make them give over all thoughts of those narrow paths which lead to the kingdom of light. The same prince is suspected of having a considerable hand in the sudden distemper with which the first inhabitants of the country of light were seized, and of having brought them under his dominion by his stratagems. At least this is related as a fact in the book which bears testimony of the light.

But whatever becomes of this question, the policy ascribed to that prince produced its intended effect. Each party, pretending to be partisans of light, thought no more of quitting the country : each of them thought itself well situated ; and, if any entertained an idea of a more luminous country, they immediately said within themselves, that this light was reserved only for another life : that it was a rash attempt to pretend to make their way to it while they sojourned in this body, in a body so

little disposed to admit of light : that they could not face it without feeling great pain : that without that light the kingdom of the Catacombs afforded enough ; and that they might, in all respects, remain there to advantage, be accommodated with all sorts of conveniences ; after which, when they left these bodies, they should be received into the kingdom of light.

In this the most opposite parties generally agree. The contest, however, still subsists, the breach grows wider ; and it is affirmed that, beside the division which reigns between the several parties, each party is as much divided within itself.

Here I asked my genius, whether, among all the inhabitants of this kingdom, there were none who endeavoured a re-union. Those only, said he, who dare undertake to tread in the narrow paths which lead to the country of light. How so ? said I. Doth that remove the differences between the parties ? You shall know, replied he, how this comes to pass. Whatever distance there is from one path to another at first, they come nearer together as the travellers advance. It is observable, that several of those paths meet and become one. Thus men are re-united, who, at their first setting out, were at a great distance one from another.

What further contributes to re-unite them, added he, is, that in proportion as they approach the light, and their eyes become able to bear it, they are all illuminated by the same light. The diversity of lights, which occasions division in the kingdom of the Catacombs, having no place here, all subjects of dispute cease. As they see objects by the same light, they no longer differ in the judgement they form of them.

After all, we are told that some variety in the manner of beholding things doth not divide them. Their chief concern is to proceed and walk toward the light, rather than take notice of the objects they meet in their way.

But, said I, what is it that makes this road so difficult ? And why is it trod by so few ? Some courage is required for that, replied my genius ; on one hand, to place one's self above all that may be thought or said by the inhabitants of the country ; in whose opinion those roads are useless, and even dangerous ; on the other, to bear all the pain that weak eyes may feel from the impressions of light ; not to mention the length and difficulties of the journey.

I then asked, whether the difficulties were always the same in this road ; and whether some had more to struggle with than others. The difficulties, said he, vary *ad infinitum*, according to the disposition, age, and courage of the persons.

The first step, which is commonly the most difficult, gives some infinitely more pain than others. I desired to know the reason of this ; and who suffered most on this occasion. Those, said he, whose indisposition of eyes is grown inveterate by age, and who for that reason must feel more acute pain from the light. Another thing that renders this first step so difficult to them is, that they till then thought themselves in the mansions of light : they had not observed the indisposition of their eyes in regard to it ; and they must be convinced of that, before they resolve on this first step. Great numbers stop here, not being able even to permit themselves to be undeceived in that point.

Young people have less difficulty in making this first step, as their indisposition in regard to the light is less strong, and as they did not imagine themselves so clear-sighted as the former. Speaking in general, continued he, some exceptions are to be made. Each age has obstacles to surmount, which are peculiar to it ; and in every age the decision is made by the will. However, all things considered, young people have the advantage ; and among them, such as have courage, and presume least on their being enlightened.

How happens it, said I, that among people who believe themselves in the country of light, some think of leaving it, and going in quest of another ?

This commonly happens, answered my genius, when on reading the book, which bears testimony of the light, some open the wickets to give themselves light, and thus find that light of a very different kind from what shines in the kingdom of the Catacombs : that the book which bears the title of light, is written only to give testimony of it, and direct men to the country where it shines. The same book points out the little paths, as the roads which others have taken to arrive there. Thus they are at full liberty to determine whether they will take that road, or remain in the gloomy regions. If they resolve on the latter, they are obliged to shut the wickets, to avoid being hurt by the rays, which their eyes are not able to bear ; for you must know that the rays of light, which pass through the wickets, give much more pain than what shines in the little paths.

But, replied I, is not the same light the source of both ? Yes, said he ; but, as it is more strengthened by the wickets than by those paths, and darts on such as reside on the same place, it strikes them so as to give them more pain than is felt by those whom it enlightens in the paths, and who walk without settling any where.

I then inquired of my genius, how they, who are unacquainted

with the book which bears testimony of the light, could, without that guide, find the paths that lead to it.

The rays, said he, which they receive at the wickets, direct them to the small paths ; then they begin to have some experience of the light ; and understand that it comes from another country. Whatever their eyes suffer from it at first, they think it beautiful, and perceive, by a *je ne sais quoi*, which is a consequence of their origin, that they were made for the country where it shines. This sentiment they have in common with all those who have not increased their indisposition by the continued use of the coloured glasses. They then try to find some opening through which they may make their way to that light.

While they are groping along, they discover the little paths, and attempt to tread in them ; and from that moment it is entirely in their own power to pursue their journey. The same light serving them as a guide, and continually increasing, it is, I say, entirely in their own power, if they will but bear the fatigues which are inseparable from such an attempt.

Methinks, said I, those of whom you spoke last, more easily come to a resolution of travelling toward the country of light, than those in possession of the book which bears testimony of it. May it not thence be concluded, that the said book is become rather prejudicial than advantageous to them ?

It becomes prejudicial to those only, replied he, who pervert the use of it ; but is infinitely advantageous to others. It serves them as a testimony through their whole journey, by the relation they discover between their own steps, and the tracks of the prince and his messengers. It supports and encourages them under their difficulties and fatigues, and lets them know the happy lot reserved for the end of their journey.

Hence it appears that those who are in possession of this book, have a considerable advantage over those who never heard of it ; they have, at least, more encouragement and assistance, and may thus unravel such difficulties as prove inexplicable to others.

As to those to whom this book becomes prejudicial, they can blame none but themselves. This book directs them to the light, and points out the way to it ; shows them the footsteps of the prince, and invites them to join him. This is the use of a testimony. Let us now see how it is perverted, and made to serve contrary ends. Under pretence of doing it more honour, men divest it of the title of a testimony, and call it the light. Hence it is concluded that the gloomy kingdom is well enlightened,

that this light is more than sufficient, and that it would be unnecessary to seek for any elsewhere.

Here I asked my genius, whether the prince of light sends any fresh messenger to reform this abuse ; or whether he gives himself no further concern for the inhabitants of the gloomy country.

It is thought, answered he, that he is still equally concerned for them ; but it is added, that it would be unnecessary for him to send messengers ; because the people are in possession of the book which contains the testimony of the old messengers : and, as the prince doth nothing useless, it is concluded he will send no more.

On that foot, said I, if the prince formed a different judgement of what may be useful or not so, and thought proper to send other messengers ; would they be treated as impostors, merely because the prince ought to do nothing useless ? Yes, replied he ; if not by all the inhabitants, at least by those who have already determined that the prince will send none.

But, said I, would not the way of examination take place in this case with several of the inhabitants ? Perhaps it might, answered he ; but there is reason to believe, that the different glasses through which great numbers would see them, would prevent their knowing them ; and that only such as would see with their own eyes, and open the wickets in order to receive light, would be in a condition of knowing them.

I then asked my genius, what is the lot of those who obstinately resolve to continue in the kingdom of the Catacombs ?

The most horrible that can be imagined, said he. After some days diversion allowed them by the prince, in order to amuse them, they are removed into another country belonging to the same prince, where they feel the utmost effects of his vengeance. But what torments them most is, that the glasses and false mirrors being then of no further use, they see themselves, and are seen by others, as so many monsters. In a word, they see all that the obscurity of the gloomy kingdom had hid from their eyes ; and their bones are racked with acute pains, which the numbness, occasioned by the moisture of the said country, had suspended ; beside all which, their eyes, which could not bear the light, are here obliged to suffer a devouring fire. In short, to complete their misery, they have only what they themselves chose, and might have avoided.

Schools for all.

THE publication of the annual report of this most interesting association appears to present to us a periodical call, to which we are always happy to yield a prompt obedience. It appears to demand a fresh survey of the field of education, that we may cheer the friends of the cause with intelligence of what has been accomplished; rouse them to exertion by a sight of what still remains to be performed; and keep alive their zeal, by reminding them of the unspeakable benefit to society which the completion of the work is calculated to yield.

When we compare the present time with times but recently passed, we have cause for satisfaction and joy. The times but recently passed were hostile to education. Men acknowledged not its benefits; they accused it as a source of probable evil, and exerted themselves to prevent its diffusion. At the present time the people who arraigned education have disappeared; its praise is universally proclaimed, and symptoms are exhibited of a pretty general exertion in its favour.

But under all these favourable circumstances, it is somewhat wonderful that the progress of the desirable work should be so very slow. It is with but little ardour that the nation has come into the scheme of education. The number of those who are willing to contribute their money is not very great. The number of those who are willing to contribute their exertions is still smaller. Though no declared hostility appears almost any where, a coldness, a disregard, a strange indifference, very generally prevails. Men will not be roused; and the business advances both heavily and slowly. The reasons are twofold. Our countrymen are partly ignorant of the benefits of education, and partly indifferent to the interests of mankind. Education may be of great advantage; but what cares he for the advantage of other men, whose thoughts are solely engaged about himself?

The relation which education bears to that state of mind in which the neglect of education is harboured, merits some little regard. It is the defectiveness of education from which the state of mind that neglects education arises. The state of mind that neglects education can only be removed by the attainment of education; but the state of mind that neglects education also opposes that attainment. The disease operates to prevent the existence or the application of the remedy. The state of

mind which is the effect of a bad education operates in turn as a cause ; it operates as a cause of that very thing by which itself is produced. It operates as a cause of bad education ; a hindrance to good education ; by either raising up active resistance, or persevering indifference and neglect. How then is it possible to succeed ? Without the improvement of education you will attempt the removal of the unhappy temper in vain. Without the removal of the unhappy temper you will attempt the improvement of education in vain. They appear to be therefore placed as reciprocating barriers, which render the introduction of education for ever impracticable.

The answer to this difficulty is by no means so exhilarating as one could wish. Slowness, however, is the worst of the evils which the case imports. The obstruction is real, but it is capable of being removed ; it is not, however, capable of being removed at once ; it is capable of being removed only by degrees.

The state of mind and the state of education, which operate upon one another reciprocally as causes, may be made to operate in the salutary as well as the pestilential direction. In the unfavourable state of the human mind which proceeds from a bad education, you proceed with difficulty, if you proceed at all, in improving education. But it fortunately happens that every improvement which you make in education operates favourably upon the state of mind, and as far as it goes creates a disposition for that improvement. This disposition clears the way for another short step in the progress of education ; and the process, as it appears, may be thus described. You begin with education, and push its improvement as far as the state of mind among the people for whom you labour will permit you to go. This improvement of education, however limited, produces a correspondent improvement in the state of mind among that people ; this improvement in the state of their mind creates a new degree of favour towards the improvement of education ; by advantage of this favour a fresh degree of improvement is effected in the state of education ; the improvement of education again improves the mind, and by these alternate steps the improvement of education may be carried to its ultimate bounds.

It is a matter of some wonder, and of much lamentation, that the state of mind in England should remain so unfavourable, or at least so little favourable to the improvement of education, in either of its two great branches, either the amelioration of the system, or the extension of the benefits ; either in adding to the excellence of the instrument, or in admitting a greater number to the use of it. By this circumstance a test is afforded of the

quality of the education which at present exists. Under all the helps to a tolerable improvement of mind which the state of this country, independently of its institutions of education, has long furnished, it is wonderful indeed to find so little regard for education. And it is only by recurring to the miserable state of the technical instruction of the country that we are enabled to account for so deplorable a phenomenon. The boarding schools, the public schools, and the universities, which share among them all that is above manual drudgery of the youth of the nation, must be in a shameful state, other circumstances being so favourable, to have the national mind in a condition so little friendly to education as that in which at this hour we have the misery to find it.

This disease, of which it is so much our desire to accomplish the cure, it much imports us to understand. It consists, as we have already intimated, in two ingredients. The first is, ignorance of the benefits of education; a want of knowledge of the useful powers, both intellectual and moral, which it confers. The second is a disregard of the good of mankind; the absence of any strong wish to see conferred upon men at large any new benefits, or removed from them any existing evils.

In the first of these particulars a good deal towards improving the state of the public mind has been done, and a good deal more it may not be very difficult to accomplish. The desirable effects which education produces may be laid before the public; the certainty with which they follow from their cause may be proved by unanswerable arguments; and this salutary instruction may be so frequently repeated as to impregnate with it the mind of the people, and intimately to combine it with their daily thoughts. Thus far the benefit of the press extends. Upon a reading people, where the truth may be printed, truth may be always impressed. Error may be exposed; with due pains the real colours of real objects may be separated from the false, and made distinguishable by common eyes. There is nothing which any one man sees to be an error, which any other man who has the common use of common faculties may not also be made to see is an error, if the proper instruments of proof are only presented to him. If you begin with what the man knows, and proceed by regular steps which carry their own evidence along with them, the manner in which alone all the real knowledge of every man is acquired, you may carry up his mind to the perception of any truth, or the discovery of any error. What is necessary for this purpose only is, that men should be willing to read, and others should properly write. Towards reading there happily is in this country a very liberal propensity, which is also upon

the increase. The propensity is not so extended nor so persevering as to produce all the effects which are to be desired; but it exists in a degree sufficient to open a way for many improvements. With regard to writers, the second of the requisites for the diffusion of just ideas, both on the subject of education and on other subjects, we should perhaps be disposed to say, notwithstanding appearances, that in this respect there is a greater deficiency than exists in the reading propensity of the people. It is not enough that an author himself should be aware of error, and acquainted with truth. He should be endowed with two other faculties, which are both extremely important and extremely rare. He should be skilful in passing from the common truths which are familiar to all, to the truths which he wishes to establish, or the errors which he wishes to disclose; that is, in passing by steps which all can follow, and furnishing the helps of which any may stand in need. And in the second place, he should be richly endowed with perseverance; not to weary in his labours; not to remit his exertions; to continue the application of the means till the end is attained; if one telling will not suffice, to tell a second time, or any number of times; to permit no time and no opportunity to be lost; to make one operation follow incessantly upon the heels of another, till the effect intended to be accomplished is produced.

Now, in these two essential requisites, writers have as yet been generally defective. To this hour the didactic art has been but little cultivated, and any considerable skill in it rarely attained*. We have many writings of great rhetorical merit; and some of which the intellectual virtues are high. But we have few, if any, in which any considerable degree of didactic excellence is displayed; in which truth is proved, or error disclosed, by those gradual steps which ensure conviction; in which nothing is misplaced, nothing omitted, and nothing superfluous; where the reader never begins but with a known truth, and

* It is a fact worthy of note, that the moderns have not so much as attempted an improvement in the didactic art, the art of communicating ideas. They have left it entirely in the state in which they received it from the ancients. The ancients had exhibited it in two different shapes; 1, that which they gave to it in their logic; and 2, that which they gave to it in their rhetoric; neither of them well adapted to the end which we have here in view; the conveying the knowledge of truth and of error to minds unacquainted with them, by such gradations of proof as every sound understanding can pursue. The syllogistic art, though an ingenious step in what Lord Bacon aptly enough denominates the *ars traditiva*, was in many obvious respects an imperfect instrument; and the art of rhetoric, it is manifest, had other ends than the teaching of truth.

never advances to a proposition which is not either proved by what goes before, or is too well known for its proof to be required. And if our writers are defective in the didactic art, they are still more defective in the virtue of perseverance; in that industry and zeal which makes them return unweariedly to the charge, and never omit their attacks till they have planted the standard of knowledge and truth on the ramparts of ignorance and error.

We have therefore considerable room for improvement, and powerful calls for increased exertion in our endeavours to communicate to the public a more perfect knowledge of the benefits of education. With regard to the other cause of the apathy with which the improvement of education is contemplated by our countrymen, that is, their indifference to the good of their fellow creatures, the root of the evil is more deeply laid, and is far more difficult to pull up and to clear away.

This is the habit or state of mind which it requires a more refined, a more enlightened and moral course of education than that by which our countrymen have as yet been bred, to alter and improve. Under the coarse and unskilful tuition of rude and ignorant ages the dissocial passions are little subject to restraint; the selfish passions are allowed to operate freely and expand themselves; and no pains are employed to cultivate and to strengthen those principles of the mind by which we derive pleasure and pain from the happiness and misery of our fellow men. The youth under such a discipline, grows up into a man, having little regard for any other feelings than his own; occupied abundantly with the desire of his own happiness, but seldom troubling himself about the fate of others; little disposed to put himself to any inconvenience for promoting their happiness, or to make any sacrifice for alleviating their misery.

Education in this country, that course of discipline by which the minds are formed, even of that part of the community who are destined to guide the rest, has remained so very nearly in the state in which it was left by ages of comparative barbarity, that it is impossible it should be well calculated for producing that finest and rarest of all the fruits of cultivation, true public spirit; an habitual and generous concern for the good of mankind; a concern sufficiently powerful to guide the thoughts and give birth to actions. Hence the apathy with which the progress of education is contemplated; hence the resistance which it long experienced, and hence the feeble assistance which it still receives.

It may be denied that the cold and tardy and penurious sup-

port which the cause of education receives is produced by any want of public spirit, by that indifference to the feelings of others, and that absorption of our minds in attention to our own, of which we complain, that the defects of education are the cause. Behold, it may be said, the splendid subscriptions which are raised! Behold the grand institutions which have been erected! Behold the contributions which our generous countrymen bestow for the relief even of foreigners in distress! We acknowledge the facts, but would caution our readers against deducing from them conclusions beyond what they are calculated to support. Among the very facts to which this appeal is made, may perhaps be found real proofs of that still remaining selfishness of character of which our complaint has been raised. Among objects of generosity, when that object is chosen to receive our bounty, which has least utility, but most display; which is worse calculated to add to the sum of human happiness, or take from the sum of human misery, but better calculated to gratify the vanity or any other personal propensity of those who contribute, such contribution is a greater proof of selfishness than philanthropy, and ought not to be quoted among the proofs of the public spirit of any nation.

How to deal with this difficulty is an arduous inquiry. A rooted disposition, the effect of a bad education, cannot be immediately removed. It may be softened, and it may be eluded; and to these results the attention of the friends of education should be turned. Wherever vanity can be sufficiently gratified, pecuniary bounty may be procured, though public spirit exist in ever so feeble a state. If a number of leading people would but espouse the cause of education sufficient to render it a sort of fashion, it would then become shameful not to act as its friend. Instruction and example are the only powers with which independent of education, and independent of the instruments of government, the selfishness of the people can be corrected. The press is daily contributing something. It might contribute a great deal more. Examples are increasing. Education as it improves contributes infallible aid. From all these causes there is no ground for despair; there is excellent ground of hope. But there is at the same time great call for exertion. Those who really are the friends of education, seeing themselves as yet to be a feeble band, should knit themselves the closer; should perceive that no man's exertions can be spared; that no man can withhold his hand, and tell himself the work will be done by others, though he should stand by and look on. In great actions, as every individual in himself is feeble, and success depends upon

the union of forces, every thing which is possible should be done to enlarge and to strengthen the combination ; every thing should be avoided which tends to enfeeble or contract it. As contradictory passions and contradictory opinions, even where pursuits and objects are the same, are the grand causes by which the union of human forces is most frequently impaired, individual tendencies should by every man be kept under careful restraint, and never permitted in the smallest degree to disturb the harmony, and hence to diminish the efficacy and usefulness, of the combination.

On these causes, however, of the slow progress of education, the want of a knowledge of its happy effects, and the want of regard for mankind, we must not at present any further enlarge. We shall content ourselves in the remainder of this article with presenting to our readers an historical account of the circumstances which, during the lapse of the preceding year, have occurred in the great business of education throughout the kingdom, and, as far as the circumstances have come to our knowledge, in all the classes of institutions of which the nation at present boasts.

The Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Society for promoting Education on the liberal Principle of Schools for All was held at the Free Mason's Hall, May 21st, 1814. The assembly was very numerous and most respectable. The Duke of Sussex was in the chair. The Princess of Wales, the Duke of Kent, Earl Darnley, Lady Darnley, Lady Selkirk, Lord Eardley, Lord Clifford, Lady Eliz. Whitbread, Lady Romilly, Lady Drake, Lady Swinburne, Sir John Swinburne, the Hon. Robert Clifford, Mr. Whitbread, Sir H. Thompson, Mr. Hume, Mr. Favell, Colonel Mahon, M. Duval, Chamberlain to the Emperor of Russia, Dr. Hamel, a physician from Russia, the Rev. Rowland Hill, the Rev. John Cambell, the celebrated missionary, the Rev. Joseph Hughes, Secretary to the Bible Society, and various other distinguished characters, expressed by their presence the sense which they entertained of the importance of the meeting.

We have already presented to our readers a sketch of the Constitution which was framed by the Committee ; submitted to a General Meeting held on the 10th of November last ; and referred for ultimate confirmation to the Annual General Meeting which was to be held in May. An alteration was proposed in the first article, relating to the title and designation of the society. With a view to mark more distinctly the wide extent of the field which it embraced, comprehending not only all classes of persons in our own country, howsoever distinguished by

difference of religion or difference of race, but all countries and all classes of men upon the face of the earth, it was proposed that the association should assume the title of "The British and Foreign School Society." The recommendation accorded with the sentiments of the assembly, and the improvement was adopted. With only one other alteration, which consisted of an extension of the number of members proposed for the Committee, &c., the Rules and Regulations constituting the Code, which was presented to the Meeting in November, were unanimously adopted.

Of the peculiar circumstances of the Fourth Annual Meeting of this Society, one of the most important features was the establishment of a Committee of Ladies, whose rank, virtue, and abilities afford the most cheering prospect of success in their noble undertaking; that of superintending and promoting the interests of the female establishment, as that destined for the rearing of school-mistresses for the purpose of extending the improved methods of instruction to the education of the female part of the community, especially those among them to whom heretofore the benefits of education have not been imparted. The following Address and particulars we deem it useful to insert from the Introduction to the Annual Report.

"ADDRESS OF THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

"The Ladies' Committee of the British and Foreign School Society respectfully inform the public, that they have undertaken to superintend the female department and training establishment belonging to the Institution. They flatter themselves that it is not necessary to use many words to impress upon society at large the necessity which exists for imparting to females, belonging to the labouring classes of life, such a portion of education in reading, writing, arithmetic, and needlework, as shall enable them to discharge the duties of their stations which, as *women*, they are destined to fill.

"The degraded state into which too many of the female sex are unhappily sunk can alone be attributed to a want of early culture. It is well known that of female servants the majority cannot read, and it is very rare to meet with one capable of writing a legible hand. It ought not, therefore, to occasion surprise, if those who have never enjoyed the means of instruction, and have been withheld from the sources of moral and religious principles, should exhibit a conduct corresponding with the example and habits to which their destitute state has exposed them.

"The Ladies' Committee are very anxious that, in every part of the empire, Schools on the British System should be established—in which girls may be taught to reverence the Holy Scriptures; and where they may receive such instruction as may be necessary to qualify them for useful life. The sex generally may, by these

means, acquire an elevation of character which cannot fail to create an universal increase of integrity and virtuous conduct.

"The economical advantages of the British System of Education being applicable to every nation, it is only requisite that persons should be trained in the knowledge and practice of the system, in order that similar schools may be established in all parts of the world. To accomplish these benevolent objects, both at home and abroad, it is necessary to have a number of young women duly qualified to undertake the management of Schools, and it will be the care of the Ladies' Committee to select such persons from families of the most approved character.

"The maintenance of the Training Establishment is necessarily attended with a considerable expense, for which an adequate fund is requisite; the Ladies' Committee cannot, for a moment, doubt the zeal of their countrywomen; nor anticipate any reluctance in them to contribute to a design which is so well calculated to improve the moral condition of their sex.

"The Ladies' Committee solicit the patronage of ladies generally, and hope to receive subscriptions from persons of both sexes, able and willing to assist them in their useful undertaking.

"Female schools, on the British system, have been organized at

Birmingham,	Clewer,	Launceston,	Rennishaw,
Blandford,	Edinburgh,	Lewes,	Ross,
Borough Road,	Exeter,	Maidstone,	Rotherham,
Bristol,	Farnham,	Margate,	Sherborne,
Bury St. Edmund's,	Godalming,	Marylebone,	Shrewsbury,
Chelsea,	Halifax,	Middleton,	Swansey,
Chertsey,	Harlow,	Newcastle,	Weymouth,
Chesterfield,	Hitchin,	Norwich,	and
Chichester,	Ipswich,	Plymouth,	Whitby.

"A donation of 10*l.* 10*s.* or an annual subscription of 1*l.* 1*s.* constitutes a subscriber; and it is particularly requested to direct subscriptions, intended for female education, to be placed to the account of the Ladies' Committee.

"The female schools in London on the British system, under the direction of the Ladies' Committee, are situated at the house of the Institution in the Borough Road, near the King's Bench, and in the King's Road, Chelsea, near the Clock House.—These schools are open to inspection every afternoon at three o'clock, Saturdays excepted.

"THE LADIES' COMMITTEES FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

The Marchioness of Tavistock.	Mrs. Allen.	Mrs. J. B. Goldsmid.
The Countess of Darnley.	Mrs. Baring.	Miss Hanbury.
The Countess of Jersey.	Mrs. H. Baring.	Mrs. Lambton.
Lady Elizabeth Whitbread.	Mrs. Montague Burgoyne.	Mrs. Marcet.
Lady Mackintosh.	Miss Corston.	Mrs. H. Martin.
Lady Romilly.	Mrs. Gibbs.	Mrs. Walker.
Miss Adams.	Mrs. Hudson Gurney.	Mrs. Wilks.

"Secretary, Miss De Visme. Treasurer to the Ladies' Fund, Mr. Joseph Fox, Argyll-street."

Another circumstance distinguished this assembly, of which it is proper to take notice; we mean the absence, for the first time, of Joseph Lancaster from the annual meeting of a society formed to support the exertions which he had made for the diffusion of

education among those who were not sufficiently rich to afford the usual expense. The public have already been informed, that some little time before that meeting Mr. Lancaster had resigned the office of superintendent, which had been formed expressly for him, and formed more with a view to the benefit of Mr. Lancaster, whom the society were eager to befriend, than from any expectation of utility from his services. This assertion is not meant to convey any harsh inference with regard to Mr. Lancaster; but rather means, that the business of the institution at the Borough Road was so organized, that by the superintendence of the Committee it could go on as well without the assistance of Mr. Lancaster as with it. This resignation, therefore, relieved the society from a heavy pecuniary burthen, without any attendant loss. His reasons for resignation consisted of expressions of mere vague dissatisfaction with the Committee and Trustees, who had offended him only because they would not act just as he would have chosen to command them. This infirmity is too common for any one to be surprised at it. Too much regret, however, cannot be expressed at the frequency with which it is attached to eminent deservings; and by destroying co-operation often embarrasses, and even defeats, the noblest undertakings. Such persons will not act unless every thing is conducted in their way. If they are thwarted in this overweening attempt, they will turn against the very cause which they have promoted; against the very principles of which they have been the champions; and instead of deserving friends to a noble cause, become its most dangerous enemies. This, in truth, is an infirmity which cannot be too earnestly held up to notice, in warning to the members of every body of men who are united for a philanthropic end. The case of Joseph Lancaster is an extraordinary one; but more or less of the same tendency exists in almost every man; no man can be too carefully on his guard against it; and few societies of men are perhaps ever united for a common cause whose proceedings are not obstructed by it, and to whom it does not constitute one of the greatest snares, and a principal source of danger.

Of the ordinary business of the Annual Meeting, a principal part constituted a receiving the Treasurer's account of the state of the funds, and of the receipts and disbursements of the year; and in receiving the Annual Report of the progress of the Institution in the great work which it pursues.

In the state of the funds, the assembly had the happiness to hear that there had been at least some amelioration in the course of the year. The amount of receipts was 292*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*: the

amount of disbursements 2307*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*: the balance in favour of the Institution 614*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*; during the year which ended on the 31st of December 1813.

On the subject of the progress of education it was stated, that new schools for boys have been formed, by masters trained at the Institution, in the following places: Carmarthen, Camberwell, Gloucester, Hailsham, Horncastle, Huddersfield, Lavenham, Leighton Buzzard, Margate, Peebles, Scarborough, Sherborne, Stains, Walpole, Worthing, Yarmouth. Great exertions have been made in the western part of the metropolis; and beside the formation of the Westminster Association, of which the Report says that "when it is considered that in the western part of London more than 30,000 children are growing up in evil example and without education, the greatest benefits to society cannot but result from the success of this association," two societies have been formed for the instruction of the children of the labouring Irish, and two schools have been formed, one in St. Giles's, and one in Mary-le-bone, in which several hundred children of both sexes are receiving instruction.

The most encouraging circumstances, however, which have occurred in the business of education on the liberal plan, during the past year, are derived, perhaps, from foreign parts.

In the United States of America, the cause of education appears to be highly prosperous, as from the easy and independent condition of the labouring classes, and the encouragement which they receive, might have been previously expected. It is remarkable enough, that in Scotland, and in the United States of America, where the people were already provided to a great degree with the means of instruction, the introduction of the new methods has been more easy and rapid than in England, where the labouring classes were almost entirely destitute of the means of instruction. This is an experimental proof of what we advanced in the early part of this article; namely, that the better the state of education already has become, the more desirous men are to improve it; the worse it is, the more averse they are to its improvement. And this holds in every thing else which is valuable. In fact, it is a very remarkable propensity, which men ought not to overlook; for much depends upon it; and all practical measures for ameliorating the condition of any portion of mankind, must, if wisely planned, bear regard to the condition in which this propensity exists among the people for whom the advantage is designed. One of the most remarkable instances is exhibited in the case of governments. The worse any government is, the more dif-

ficult in general it is to introduce any improvement. The more excellent any government has already become, the greater is the facility of introducing improvement. And this, not from the mere untowardness of the political machine, but from the disposition of the people, whose aversion to the improvement of their government is most commonly in proportion to its defects; and there most complete where the government is most depraved; among the Hindoos, for example, or the Chinese, and the Turks.

Robert Ould, a pupil of the Institution, of whose success in the United States our readers have already heard, in his Report, dated the 18th of November 1813, states, that in addition to the schools (to the number of eight) erected in 1812 under teachers qualified by him, new schools have been established in the following places; namely, Annapolis, Petersburg, Winchester, Ewittsburg, Hagerstown, Pittsburg, Lexington, King William County, Frederictown, and Fredericksburg.

In Canada and the connected provinces a society for the diffusion of education has been formed, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, denominated the Academic Society; and under the zealous agency of Mr. Bromley, a gentleman who has made the greatest exertions in this important cause, an active spirit has been raised, and schools to a considerable amount have already been set on foot. In a letter addressed to the Duke of Kent, dated the 8th of March 1814, this gentleman not only exhibits instances of a sort of enthusiasm having diffused itself in those provinces for pushing education even among the Indians, but states that the Governor and trading members of the government are warm friends to the cause of education; that both Houses of Assembly have taken up the business, and that "there cannot be a doubt of their warmest support." In favour of schools for the Canadians, a gentleman, the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood, proceeded to England for the purpose of raising money among the friends of education and persons connected with Canada, merchants and others. By his zealous and disinterested exertions a considerable sum of money has been obtained, which is placed in the hands of trustees, to be applied in accelerating the business of education in these provinces. And the trustees have engaged a young man, trained as a master on the British system, whom they have sent to Canada with Mr. Osgood, to superintend a model school, and to train masters.

The powerful exertions of the Missionaries in India, we hope, have now taken a decided turn toward schools. A school was

erected some time ago at Calcutta, by the Baptist Missionary Society, to whom India is likely to be so much indebted. We understand that it is in a high state of perfection; has attracted public attention, and is now assured of patronage and support. The directors of this institution have turned their attention to the training of native teachers; and we cannot conceive a circumstance from which the philanthropic mind may anticipate a greater accession of happiness to the vast population of those extensive regions, who have so long groaned under a dreadful load of religious, moral, and political evil. This is the fountain from which waters of a different quality may with assurance be expected to flow.

From No. XXVI. of Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, lately published, we learn that the Missionaries in India at the close of the year 1812 had increased the number of schools for instructing the natives upon the Lancasterian plan to sixteen; they suppose the number of children in them amounted to nearly a thousand.

In a letter to the Directors of the Missionary Society, from Mr. Gordon and Mr. Pritchett, missionaries at Vizigapatam in the East Indies, these gentlemen say: "After some trouble we have procured both a place and a teacher; opened school June the 14th, and had the pleasure in a short time to see the scholars increase to the number of thirty. Afterwards, indeed, it was lessened about one half—but we were not discouraged; for those who went away were mostly of the prouder casts, who could not endure a place where all were treated without distinction. Some were also afraid of being made Christians: but the number soon began to fill up again; and we have for some time had in the Gentoo school forty scholars, and in the English twenty. But we expect a much larger increase.

"At first, with all our solicitude to *exclude* every thing heathen, we were careful not to be too rigid, lest we should defeat our own object; but we have gradually prevailed in this respect, so that it is now a Christian seminary altogether."

This intelligence strongly calls upon us for some remarks. In the first place, we cannot too highly commend the admirable endeavours which are making by the Missionaries to establish English schools in India, among whom the Baptists, who seem to be the most enlightened, are, as might thence be expected, in this important respect the most industrious. We trust that the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, printed in the Report of his Speech in the House of Commons on the subject of the Indian missions,

and upon the tendency of which we dwelt at some length in a preceding number, will have an effect both upon the Missionaries and their Directors. They will there see, that in the opinion of a man to whom they look up, the extension of schools is the chief ground of hope for the dissemination of Christianity, not to speak of the numerous temporal advantages which education carries in its train.

Under this view of the subject, it is with great pain that we perceive one capital error in the conduct of the Missionaries Gordon and Pritchett. They say they proceed upon a system of *exclusion*. They were anxious, they say, "to exclude the heathen," and at last they rejoice that they have completely excluded them. Alas! is this the way in which they expect to convert the heathen to Christianity, by excluding them from knowledge? This is not the way which Mr. Wilberforce recommended; but to give them schooling first, in the firm assurance that if once schooled they would not long remain chained to their abominable idols. We hope, nay we are sure, that the system of exclusion in regard to education is condemned by most if not all of the excellent men who preside over the Missionary Society at home; for they are friends and patrons of the Society of "Schools for all," whose fundamental principle is the very reverse of exclusion; and we do hope, nay trust, as we most earnestly recommend and exhort, that they will send out the most efficient instructions to the Missionaries under their direction to abstain from *exclusion* in their attempts at education, as they would avoid preserving the greatest friend to heathenism—*ignorance*.

In fact, every thing should be done which can be done to *entic*e the heathen into these schools; and all those violations of their religious prejudices, which would drive them away, should be carefully avoided. We have some apprehensions about what the Missionaries say, of persons of the higher casts having been driven away from the school because all were treated in it alike. It is to be noticed, that most of the observances which separate the casts in India are religious ceremonies. Now, if the persons of the higher casts were exposed to a violation of these (which we suspect was the case), in the attempt to treat all alike, this should be carefully avoided in future; because the Missionaries will thus exclude that part of the natives whose instruction and conversion would have the greatest influence upon the instruction and conversion of the rest. These are the people whom all good expedients should be used to allure into the

schools ; instead of putting an exclusion upon them, by making them submit to conditions which it is known beforehand will keep them away.

This is a subject of vital importance, and we hope it will receive the immediate and effectual attention of those on whom the conduct of the Missionaries depends.

The happy, the long wished for, the highly prized, return of peace assures a wider and more smiling prospect of good in this important branch of human prosperity, among the nations of Europe. The example of England will now meet the eye of foreigners, and there is sufficient reason to conclude, that in this, and many other respects, there is a disposition to imitate England pretty generally diffused on the continent. In France, institutions of education, descending even to the lowest classes, exist, or ought by law to exist, in every part of the country. The revolution, which in many respects did evil, in this, among other instances, did good. The institutions of education in France Bonaparte rendered military, as every thing else, and so changed them as to operate in preparing the people to be only soldiers and slaves ; eager to shed the blood of other people, but ready to let their masters deal with them as they pleased. The thing which is desirable in France, then, is, that this wretched tendency given to the institutions of education should be changed ; so far changed as to breed in the minds of the people a hatred of war, and a hatred of despotism ; a love of the happy and virtuous occupations of peace ; a love of that from which the happy and virtuous occupations of peace can alone receive their due encouragement, a free government. That the present government will be less military and less despotic than that of Bonaparte, we do not doubt. And, therefore, we expect that there will be a change for the better in the schools and seminaries of France. The change which will be effected in the minds of those who are trained under a better discipline will act in its turn, and, we hope, carry on the work of improvement. But we fear there is a great deal too much of the principles of war, and of arbitrary power, involved in the constitution of the present government, to permit the hope that any very remarkable change will speedily take place in the spirit which now pervades the schools. All that can be contributed in England towards this desirable end is of course through the medium of the press. And the English press, we may hope, will not now be without its influence upon the public mind in France. We may in the first place expect, that of the Englishmen who are flocking in

such numbers to France, more than one will take the trouble of writing down what he sees; and that more than one will be endowed with the faculty of seeing what is worth being seen. Among these circumstances, none stands more forward than the temper and condition of the seminaries of education, respecting which every article of authentic intelligence will be to us, interesting in the highest degree.

A fair prospect is opened for the introduction of the improved method of instruction into Sweden and Denmark, where the education of the lower orders is already better provided for than in most other parts of Europe. And this Institution, the British and Foreign School Society, have had the good fortune to meet with no less than two natives of Denmark, who are willing to devote themselves to the propagation of the system in Sweden and Denmark, and who have been sent out under the most favourable auspices.

Pains were taken to impress upon the mind of the Emperor Alexander, and of the persons about him, when in England, a sense of the importance of education to the population of his vast dominions, and of the advantages afforded by the use of the new expedients. As far as we can yet judge, the result is favourable. The Emperor had not been long at the seat of his government, when he issued an ukase in favour of schools upon the improved plan. The exact amount of the encouragement, as we have only received a vague account of the imperial order, we do not know; but we have a pleasure in hoping the best; the very beginning of any improvement is always an important step in the way of its completion. Russia possesses one great advantage over other countries which have a higher conceit of their own attainments. It is this: that her leading men are friends to her improvement, while in other countries which we could name these are its enemies; that in Russia the people in power believe that their country stands in need of improvement; that they employ their minds in quest of what will improve their country, and eagerly adopt whatever appears to them calculated to favour so desirable an end. They are not, it is true, always so perfectly happy as could be wished in their choice. But the pursuit of improvement ensures the tendency; and while they go on and their neighbours stand still, the time will assuredly come when they will not only get up with their neighbours, but advance before them.

Early precedence is often fatal to individuals. And the same tendency is perhaps still stronger in the case of nations. It has

often been remarked, that the boy who is at the top of his school very seldom turns out an eminent man. The reason is, that he becomes satisfied too early with his own acquirements, and stops short in the career of improvement; while those whom at first he had left behind, by continuing their progress, get first up with him, then before him, and at last, by perseverance, leave him at the greatest distance behind. The same misfortune seems to attach itself with the greatest force to nations that have gained an early excellence. Conceited with the idea of their superiority, they estimate so very highly the advantages which they have already gained, that they imagine they have no occasion for more, and rather feel provoked at those who would persuade them to make new exertions, as if the proposal to seek improvement was a disparagement of what they have already attained, and the listening to such a proposal were a confession that they are not already as improved and exalted as possible. What a misfortune this propensity was to the most improved nations of ancient times, the Greeks and the Romans, history records. What a misfortune it now is to the British nation, a little sober discernment suffices to perceive. If the nations, the commencement of whose reforms has been later, can only avoid this snare, and go on with perseverance, the foremost nation now will at no distant period infallibly be left behind. For us, our first wish is, that our own country may improve; our second is, that other countries may improve; and if our own country should resist or delay improvement, that others may not; which in other words is, that they may get before it.

We deem it a matter of the highest importance, that a beginning, a real and efficient beginning, has been made, and upon a high stage, for the introduction of the improved methods of teaching, which it is the business of this Institution to promote, into the establishments for the education of the more opulent classes of the community. That man may emphatically be regarded as the benefactor of his species, who introduces an improvement in the education of those whose minds are destined to have the guidance of others. We therefore feel the utmost gratitude to Mr. Pillans, the rector, and Mr. Grey, one of the masters of the High School of Edinburgh (that is the principal school for classical literature in Scotland), who have introduced into the principal department of that school, and as far as their province extended into the other departments, the efficient and accelerating methods of instruction which are now so well understood. The monitor system, or the plan of teaching the

boys by the boys, has been applied by these meritorious gentlemen to the learning of Latin and Greek, in a school containing the sons of persons in the middling and superior conditions of life, and with a success which they themselves describe as far surpassing their expectation. They represent as altogether extraordinary, the effects of this method in giving a stimulus to exertion, in upholding attention, in strengthening emulation, in accelerating the progress of all, and, what is still more remarkable, in equalizing the progress of all, making the slow and the lazy much more nearly than before keep pace with the quick and industrious. We hope that this public-spirited example, this liberal adoption of improvement, on which too much applause cannot be bestowed, will not long remain without imitation. A spirit of improvement making its way into the institutions for the more select parts of education, would shed a beam of hope over the prospect of the future, more bright than any other which we can easily conceive. The epoch too, we think, is propitious. The age is ripe for some radical improvements in the state of education; and we hope at no distant period to have the pleasure of congratulating our readers upon the execution of measures, the effects of which cannot fail to have the greatest influence upon the intellects and the morals, that is, the happiness and prosperity, of the British people.

We are extremely happy to mention that the monitor system has also been adopted in that celebrated seminary in the metropolis, the Charter-house School, under the liberal influence of the present presiding master. We understand, for as yet we are only enabled to speak from hearsay, that the monitor system is not in this school employed in a mode so perfect and stimulating as in the ordinary schools, or in the Edinburgh High School, the method being no more than that of attaching a clever boy to a dull one, the former of whom has the task of driving his lesson into the other. Even this, however, is a step in the right course. It denotes a door fairly opened to improvement. And when so many doors are eagerly barred against it, even this is notable praise, praise more difficult to earn than critics are often aware of.

We are disposed to mention it as a circumstance highly interesting in the progress of this great work, that measures have at last been taken by the Committee of "The British and Foreign School Society" (the name which the Institution formerly called Lancasterian have now adopted) for improving the education of the youths who are placed under a course of training for school-

masters. In the infancy of the Institution there were neither funds nor opportunity for accomplishing more than what was of the most indispensable necessity. The most promising of the lads who presented themselves were selected, and, when sufficiently trained in the discipline of the school to be able to practise it in other places, were employed as schoolmasters. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the discipline of the school, was therefore all the knowledge which, during the period of Mr. Lancaster's management, it was found practicable to impart. But the disadvantage of sending out persons to act in the capacity of instructors with minds so nearly destitute of ideas, not in the smallest degree elevated above the most ignorant of the people in countries where reading and writing are taught, and not in the smallest degree elevated above their pupils as soon as these faculties are acquired, was strongly perceived. The friends of the system in various places expressed their mortification at finding the qualifications of the schoolmasters so very limited. They were unable to draw respect. They were not qualified to converse with any but the most ignorant of the people; and by consequence formed among them their society. The neglect into which they were thus apt to fall among the sort of people whose notice commanded respect, was not favourable to their influence on the minds of their pupils, nor to that influence on the minds of the parents which constituted an inducement to send to them their children for instruction. The minds and happiness of the masters themselves appeared, as it ought to do, an object of consequence. It was deemed of much utility that they should be provided with resources; otherwise, during the hours when they were not occupied in school, what was to become of them? The temptation to seek idle society was almost irresistible; and the danger of forming improper connections, male and female, by very young men void of experience, was extremely great. It is to be mentioned as a very remarkable proof of the sense of character and of duty under which these youths have acted, that out of so many who have been sent at the ages of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen years, to conduct themselves among strangers, and for the first time set loose from the controllers of their infancy, it has not come to the knowledge of the Committee that any vicious connection with females has been formed by any of them, but several imprudent marriages have taken place.

In providing a remedy for these evils, the Committee were obliged to attend to several circumstances. In the first place, the funds of the Institution did not enable them to maintain the youths for a sufficient time to initiate them in many of the

branches of education. It was therefore necessary to make selection of those which promised to be of the greatest utility. Another circumstance was apt to appear of considerable weight; that if they gave many acquirements to the youths, they would qualify them for other occupations of more dignity and profit, and hence lose their services in the schools.

Bearing all these circumstances in view, it was considered that in the first place it was highly desirable the schoolmasters should be taught to write their own language grammatically; and that it was much to be lamented when they could not answer by letter in an intelligible manner, and free from grammatical blunders, the queries transmitted to them by gentlemen desirous of information for multiplication of schools.

It was also considered, that a taste for reading is one of the greatest advantages to every individual whose situation affords him any spare hours, and that it ought to be part of the endeavour of the Committee to communicate this useful taste to the youths under their inspection. To initiate them in the history of their own and other countries, and in geography, would be the most effectual expedient for this purpose, at the same time that it communicated to them those ideas which a man is most frequently exposed to contempt for being entirely unacquainted with.

This much, at any rate, could be done for the youths without any great expense either of time or of money; by the proper occupation of the hours which might be spared during the time in which they were learning the practice of the school. And this was all which was deemed of indispensable necessity.

One thing we are satisfied the Committee judiciously considered; which was—that it was not expedient to engross the minds of the youths with any attempts at Greek and Latin; which, in the first place, were very far from being the most useful parts of learning, even when most perfectly acquired; in the second place, would consume (any one of those languages, for itself alone) more time than could be spared for these youths to give them all the instruction which they were to receive; and if only studied to the extent of half an acquaintance with the grammar, and a few vocables, the time bestowed was little better than lost; while the acquisition of ideas of the greatest utility, which might be imparted to them in the time, was thus opposed and prevented.

In our opinion, the mark at which the Committee should aim should be—to give these youths solid, judicious minds; not showy accomplishments. It is perfectly plain, that for the first of these objects the Committee cannot possibly perform too much.

They must no doubt be limited by the extent of their means; but it is true that they ought to leave none of these means unemployed. Now we think, that in some cases at least, cases perhaps pretty numerous, they will have it in their power to do somewhat more than merely to teach English grammar, a little history and geography. The grand question is, what articles of knowledge subsequent to these will have most efficacy in giving the schoolmasters solid, judicious minds; minds capable of deriving the greatest benefits to themselves and others from the circumstances in which they may be placed?

Now among reasonable men this question, we should think, could not be the subject of much difficulty. Solidity of mind and good judgement cannot be directly taught. All that we can do is to apply that exercise which has the greatest tendency to engender and nourish that salutary state of mind. We suppose, however, it will be allowed without dispute, that those branches of discipline which are most conducive to an acquaintance with things, and to the strengthening of the reasoning powers, conduct very materially to that mental frame which is the object of our desire.

The branches of discipline which are subservient to these purposes are pretty distinctly marked out and known.

Arithmetic, for example, although in itself the most abstruse perhaps of all the sciences, is so applicable to things, and so necessary toward the right ordering of them in the mind for the use of innumerable occasions in life, that it is taught, as being, next to reading and writing, the most useful of all literary acquirements.

Geometry is nearly allied to it in many respects, and among others in its utility as an acquirement, and as a source of discipline to the mind. It not only communicates a knowledge of the modifications of extension, one of the qualities with which we are the most largely and frequently concerned; but exercise in the close and accurate reasonings of geometry is one of the most efficient of all disciplines for strengthening the reasoning powers. It is, therefore, a branch of education of which the utility is double, and in both ways of the highest importance. Of many of the most common and most important businesses of life, some of the leading operations are dependent upon the modifications of extension. The carpenter, the mill-wright, the wheel-wright, the smith, the mason, and in truth almost every species of operator who has to model matter into particular sizes and shapes, would derive material assistance from, what he might easily acquire, an elementary knowledge of geometrical truths; while at

the same time the power of following a chain of reasoning, in the want of which power weakness of mind so much consists, would, by following the demonstrations of geometry, receive the most important cultivation. Whoever in truth has attended to that species of intellectual weakness which most remarkably characterizes men of the ordinary class, will find it to consist in the incapacity of following a chain of reasoning; and that a very great proportion of the wrong measures which they take in life arises from this very cause; from the inability which it implies of judging soundly of almost any thing but what is immediately under their eyes. For our own parts, we should like to see, and hope at no remarkably distant period that we shall see, the elements of geometry, which a few months would suffice to learn, as regular a part of the education of the labouring man as arithmetic itself. After reading, writing, and arithmetic, it is the most useful culture which his mind can receive. With much stronger reason then do we desire, that he who is to be the *teacher* of the labouring man should have the benefit of this discipline.

It will readily be allowed, that as the means of subsistence, and almost all the accommodations of human life, depend in a great degree upon the application of the mechanical powers, an acquaintance with these powers cannot be too generally diffused. An acquaintance with the mechanical powers would be easily accomplished after an acquaintance with the elements of geometry. A knowledge of the powers of the wedge, of the lever, of the screw, the inclined plane, the pulley; of the combination of these in mechanics; of the attractions or repulsions of bodies to one another; the weight, the contraction, and expansion of fluids, and the powers which they yield for our use, would add prodigiously to the powers of the workmen, in agriculture, in manufactures, and almost every department of labour; nor in time will there be any difficulty found in communicating that knowledge to the labouring part of the population. If there is any part to spare of the time of the lads who are trained for schoolmasters, it cannot, we should think, be more wisely employed than in acquiring a knowledge from which so many important advantages are derived.

There is another class of objects, or powers of objects, an acquaintance with which is every moment subservient to the most useful purposes in life; heat, for example; fire; the powers of combination which bodies possess among one another; and the effects which the combination or separation of them produces. A knowledge of these circumstances enlarges prodigiously the

powers of man over the objects of nature; and this knowledge is collected and presented in the science called chemistry. We do not hold forth these branches of knowledge as indispensable requisites in the masters whom the Committee may train. But if there is any portion of the time of the youths which is not engrossed by those requisites, we are sure that it ought to be employed in the manner which we are here endeavouring to recommend. The advantage may be gained at very little expense; and a little time, well employed, will go far in the acquisition of useful knowledge. It is more difficult to acquire the skill of playing tolerably on a musical instrument, than to obtain a tolerable acquaintance with the whole circle of physical knowledge.

The classes of objects which are distinguished by vegetable and animal life are not less desirable subjects of knowledge; nor is that knowledge difficult of acquirement. Botany, for example, is a pastime; and a very few lessons, merely to explain the principles of the system, would enable the youths by themselves to prosecute the science as an amusement; and we should thus have in our schoolmasters a tribe of botanists spread over the whole country, who would advance the boundaries of the science, while they spent agreeably and virtuously the spare hours, which might otherwise have been a snare, and led them into many difficulties and dangers.

If thus far advanced in mental culture, the Committee need not be very solicitous about the rest. The taste for reading will be acquired, and the judgement formed to make a proper selection of books. The mind will then go on, and omit no opportunity of improving itself in all that can render it more efficient and happy, that is, more useful and virtuous.

We have dwelt long upon this subject, because we deem it of vital importance; and though the reasons appear to us to be exceedingly strong and convincing, yet, we know not how it is, men very often misjudge; often regarding such discipline as useless in such a case; or, by the vicious course of education which has been handed down to us from unenlightened periods, adopting strange rules of precedency in the course which they recommend. We are extremely earnest in pressing the subject, in all its parts, upon the attention of the Committee, who have already done so much, but for whom so much more yet remains to be done.

We mean, in a subsequent number of our work, to give some account of the progress which is made in erecting schools under the auspices of the church. It is a matter of pleasure to us, in the mean time, to declare, that over a great portion of the country, the clergy are manifesting a laudable zeal in this

important work ; and, if they go on, a most important portion of the community will be indebted to them for the means of instruction. To us, the effect would have been far more agreeable, had this been accomplished free from the sectarian spirit, which the illiberality of an established religion has affixed to this portion of the work. But if the work cannot be done, or cannot so speedily be done, in the best possible mode, we are willing to see it done in the next best ; and we have had the happiness to see the clergy in many parts of the country labouring in the business with an excellent spirit, themselves regulating the exclusionary bonds in which they are constrained to act, and fully aware of the disadvantages they sustain by the necessity of making the church catechism a part of the discipline of the school.

We have found the clergymen in some places complaining of a circumstance, of which previously we had not heard ; it is the difficulty of retaining monitors, chiefly arising from the ignorance and perversity of the parents, who presently say, Oh, if my child is sufficiently taught, and can teach others, he is only wasting his time at school, and I shall take him away. We could wish that those among our readers, who have had more experience of the temper of persons in the country, than we have, would impart to us, on this subject, some of the fruits of that experience ; that they would inform us, if they can, from what causes this unhappy tendency of the parents is likely to arise, and what are the expedients which their experience would recommend for counteracting the effects of it. The inconvenience we have found in several places very great, and good friends of the cause very much discouraged by it. The evil, therefore, deserves the most serious attention.

We cannot close this article, notwithstanding the length to which it has unexpectedly run, without giving an account of a new society, the formation of which imparts to us the highest satisfaction. The following is the account of it, which has appeared in print :

“ **THE EDINBURGH SOCIETY** for promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland.

“ If there be any one circumstance which has more than another contributed to exalt this country to the high rank which she holds among the surrounding nations, it is the acknowledged superiority which it enjoys in respect of the means of education. This is an advantage which invariably leads to the most beneficial results. A good education directly tends to raise the standard of morals, and to improve the characters of those who enjoy it ; to excite and diffuse a spirit of useful exertion ; to increase the energies of the

mind, and to bring them to bear with more effect on all the objects of human pursuit; to meliorate the condition of individuals, and of society, and to promote the general happiness of life. Hence every friend of humanity will desire to see the benefits of education widely diffused, and will co-operate with any rational plan by which that end is likely to be accomplished.

"In Scotland, though much may still be done to extend and to improve the education of the lower classes, there is comparatively little to be done. Through the universal establishment of parochial schools, that valuable legacy of the Scottish Parliament to their country, education is obtained at such a moderate expense, that almost all classes of the community have access to it. And the lower classes have in consequence attained a measure of knowledge, of moral cultivation, and of intelligent industry, which is not found in the same rank of society in any other country.

"In England, the education of the lower orders was for a long time less attended to, than the generous character of the country and the progress of civilization in other instances might have led us to expect. Of late, however, the attention of men of the first eminence, in station, influence, and character, has been directed to this important object; and plans have in consequence been formed, and measures adopted, which promise the happiest and most extensive success.

"Ireland, unfortunately, does not, in this respect, exhibit the same favourable appearance with the other divisions of the British empire. Though it possesses many advantages friendly to the improvement and comfort of the inhabitants, it is notorious that no adequate result has hitherto been derived from them. Nature has been liberal to that country. The soil is fertile, and the climate mild. The spirit of the people is high; their minds are inquisitive and reflecting; their disposition generous and ardent. They are lively and active; equal to any exertion, and capable of any attainment. Yet with all this, it appears from the united testimony of all who have written on the state of Ireland, that the character of the native inhabitants is low, and their circumstances wretched in the extreme.

"To this unhappy state of things, different causes, moral and political, which it is here unnecessary to specify, have probably contributed. But there can be no question, that one cause which has had a predominant influence on the circumstances and character of the Irish, is the want of education. Through the injurious influence of that powerful cause, which still exists to a degree that is hardly credible, the natural advantages which they enjoy are in a great measure lost. Intellect, capacity, warm affections, generally unimproved, and often ill directed, bring no suitable benefit to the possessor of them; it is well if they be not made the means of precipitating him deeper into vice, and increasing his power of doing mischief.

"At a time when the tone of philanthropic feeling is more than

ordinarily high; when the benevolent of every denomination are zealously exerting themselves to minister relief to their fellow-men in different countries, and under different descriptions of suffering or of want, so large and so interesting a portion of our fellow-subjects cannot surely be suffered to continue in their present unpropitious circumstances; circumstances in which it is manifest that their intellectual energies are cramped, their moral character depressed, their personal happiness obstructed, and the welfare of the state materially injured. In this case the most forcible considerations that can be addressed to the mind,—humanity, justice, sound policy, patriotism, true Christianity,—all concur in calling loudly on Britons to consider the state of the lower classes in Ireland, and to assist in the design of ameliorating their state, by furnishing them with the necessary means of moral and religious instruction.

“ This generous design, to which we wish to call the attention of our countrymen, is not entirely new. The education of the poor in Ireland has, at different periods, attracted the attention of the public mind, and different measures have been employed to promote it. Free schools were, at an early period, re-established in several of the large towns, and have since been extended to some parts of the country. Provision is also made, at a great expense, for maintaining what are called the Protestant Charter Schools. These establishments have, however, been productive of *very limited effects*. The utility of the Charter Schools has been much impeded by the **NARROW EXCLUSIVE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THEY ARE INSTITUTED**; none being received into them but the children of Protestants, or of Catholics who allow their children to be educated in the Protestant religion. And though the free schools are conducted on more liberal principles, being open to the children of parents of every religious persuasion, yet their number is so small, as to be altogether inadequate to the wants of the community.

“ To supply this defect, private associations have been formed both in London and Dublin. About eighty years ago an association was formed in London, under the name of the Hibernian Society, which, among other objects, has particularly in view the establishment of schools in Ireland. Since that time two associations of the kind have been formed in the city of Dublin, *viz.*—The Hibernian Sunday School Society, which, though it bears the name of a Sunday School Society, does not limit its exertions to the Sunday; and The Society for the Education of the Poor in Ireland. These societies, which have all of them the countenance and support of men of the first respectability in both countries, are prosecuting the objects which they severally embrace with the most commendable zeal and spirit; and the good effects which have already resulted from their labours, furnish strong encouragement to increased exertion, and warrant the reasonable expectation of increasing utility.

“ Impressed with these considerations, a number of respectable

gentlemen, inhabitants of this city, and immediate vicinity, concerned to promote the education of the poor in Ireland, met in the Merchants' Hall on the 18th day of March last, and the following Resolutions having been successively moved, were unanimously adopted, viz.

" Resolved—I. That though Ireland possesses many advantages eminently calculated to promote the improvement and happiness of its inhabitants, it is an undeniable fact, that the beneficial results to individuals and to society have hitherto borne no proportion to the value and extent of the resources of the country.

" II. That the moral condition of the lower orders especially, exhibits a state of society deeply afflicting to every friend of religion and humanity.

" III. That the want of an adequate provision for the education of the children of the poor, and the little attention that has hitherto been paid to their intellectual and moral improvement, is one of the principal causes of the degradation and wretchedness of the Irish people.

" IV. That it appears to us, that this evil will be most effectually remedied by communicating to those classes the blessing of moral and religious instruction; an object, which the progressive diminution of their prejudices, and their increasing desire of knowledge, encourage us to pursue, with a reasonable hope of success.

" V. That while we regard with high satisfaction the different associations that have been formed in London and Dublin for promoting plans of usefulness for the benefit of our brethren in Ireland, we judge it expedient that a Society shall be instituted in this city, for the sole purpose of erecting and supporting schools in that kingdom.

" VI. That the society shall be denominated ' The Edinburgh Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland.'

" VII. That the Society shall act in connection with any other society, having the same object, or separately, as circumstances may require.

" VIII. That the following regulations be adopted for the constitution and management of the Society:—

" 1. An annual subscription of half a guinea shall constitute a member; but subscriptions, however small, shall be gratefully received.

" 2. That the business shall be conducted by a president, six vice-presidents, twenty-four ordinary and twenty-four extraordinary directors, a secretary, and treasurer, to be elected annually, at a General Meeting of the Society.

" That one vice-president, six extraordinary and six ordinary directors, shall go out of office annually in rotation, and their places shall be supplied by vote of the members at the Annual General Meeting.

"The directors shall meet ~~statedly~~ on the _____ of each quarter; and the secretary shall have power to call occasional meetings, when circumstances require them.

"OFFICE-BEARER OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Selkirk.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood.

Rev. Dr. Davidson.

Rev. Dr. Sandford.

Adam Rolland, Esq.

Robert Dundas, Esq."

[Here follows a list of the extraordinary and ordinary directors.]

We cannot in terms sufficiently strong express our admiration of the spirit in which this society is formed, and in which these reasons and resolutions are drawn. We are delighted also to perceive united in the small list of names subjoined, those of the leading clergymen of the two churches, the Presbyterian, which is the established church, and the Episcopalian, or Church of England, which there exists upon the footing of the chapels in London at the west end of the town. This is an example which we trust will have a salutary influence further south, and that in a short time religious distinctions will be no bar to the promotion of schools. It was worthy of a country already so favoured in respect of instruction, to make an exertion in favour of their less happy brethren in another part of the empire. From the becoming terms in which we find mention made of the *narrow exclusive principle* on which the Charter Schools in Ireland are formed, we may confidently expect to see pursued by this society, a proper spirit in regard to religious distinctions, which ought not to find admittance into schools. We shall not find the religious feelings of the poor Catholic set at variance with his desire of instruction to his child; and his hatred of the religion of Protestants increased, by the privations to which that religion condemns him. Nothing is so short-sighted as persecution; and every thing is persecution which subjects a man to any disadvantage, on account of his religion, from which he would otherwise be exempt.

*Comparison of the Sixteenth Century with the Nineteenth,
in Circumstances which regard the Intellectual and Moral
State of the Public Mind.*

THERE are few things of more importance to those who pursue the good of mankind, than to contemplate the progress which has already been made. They derive encouragement from the success which has attended the endeavours of those who went before them; and not unfrequently gain important instruction, by observing both the errors which their predecessors have committed, and the skillful expedients which they employed for the accomplishment of their ends.

The comparison, which is here proposed, is by no means intended to embrace the whole extent of the field. That is great indeed, and would require volumes to contain it. A few striking particulars are all which at present is within our compass to produce.

They have been suggested by the perusal of a very authentic picture of the times and persons to which it relates; drawn by a man who was well versed in all the transactions, and had seen much of the inward springs of human affairs, in several of the principal countries of Europe. The work to which we refer is entitled "The Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, containing an impartial Account of the most remarkable Affairs of State, during the last Age, not mentioned by other Historians: more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James."

It is one of those books which initiates the reader into the *spirit* of the times of which it speaks; and gives a clear and distinct view of the moral and intellectual character of the age. The contrast between those and the present times is amazing, and affords a most striking view of the advantages which civilization carries in her train. The weakness and folly, joined with the improbity, the disregard of all moral ties, the injustice and cruelty, even the base and destructive sensuality of the times of which Melvil treats, compared with our present very feeble progress in knowledge and morality, make the present state of mankind to be regarded as exaltation to the place of happiness from the place of woe. Imperfect as are the restraints under which the men of power even at present act, and numerous as are the ways in which the spirit of misgovernment may perform

its mischievous acts; yet if we compare the unbridled license of former rulers, in the gratification of their own interests and passions, at the expense of the people, we shall find that even in this respect, the most important of all; even in this, the chief source of social good and evil to man, which receives improvement with so much difficulty and opposition,—the amelioration which human affairs have gained, is great, and most encouraging. In the times of which we speak, one set of *great* men were somewhat restrained in their injustice upon another: the King was by the nobles somewhat restrained in his conduct toward the nobles; and the nobles had various restraints upon them in their conduct towards the King. But on the conduct of both as towards the people, there was no restraint whatsoever. The people were accordingly beaten down to the lowest depth of oppression and misery. Circumstances now exist which favour the people to a certain degree; reserve must be used in the channels of oppression which yet stand open; and unfair dealing towards them, on the part of power, must at any rate be coloured, and have a kind of a cloak. These restraints are something, and under them the condition of the great body of mankind is gradually, though slowly, improving.

Before we produce any of those facts, recorded by Melvil, which we think of selecting for the purpose of suggesting the important lessons which are yielded by the comparison of former with present times, it may be of use to take notice of two sorts of persons, whose minds from that contemplation receive erroneous impressions; and whose prejudices, though rather of an opposite sort, combine in their evil tendency, and retard the means of human happiness.

The first is that set of persons who are eager to disbelieve the possibility of human improvement; who say that happiness, or rather misery, is always the same,—the forms, it may be, varied, but the substance unchanged; that men are essentially corrupt and contemptible; that the strong have always preyed upon the weak; that the weak would equally prey upon the strong, if circumstances were changed; and that there is no remedy. The practical conclusion from this doctrine is, that all attempts to better the condition of human beings, is mere folly; that the philanthropist is a visionary; patriotism a mockery; and all efforts to instruct the people, or to improve the institutions of government, the source from which the waters of sweetness or bitterness almost exclusively flow, are the vain and incurably unprofitable attempts of men guided by their imaginations, and whom experience cannot teach.

It cannot fail, we think, to have the best possible tendency towards preventing the increase of this breed of our enemies, to bring forward such proofs as those which are afforded by Melvil's book, of the improvement of human affairs; proofs not easy for folly and obstinacy to resist, and which will infallibly determine both the conviction and the voice of all those whose minds are not already perverted; that is, determined by vanity or custom not to part with any opinions which they have long espoused.

We cannot help thinking that this will be a considerable good; for those who oppose the endeavours of the patriot and the philanthropist, upon this disheartening ground, are still considerable, even in numbers, but still more considerable in power. It is a ground which suits the purposes well of those who hate improvement, either because they are of the number of those who profit by abuses, or because they are of the number of those who have allowed themselves to become frightened with the imaginary dangers of change; or because they are of the number of those who hate every species of trouble, who hate that of making improvements among the rest, and envy the credit which others might gain and they might lose, while the other became the active instruments of good, and they remained lazy and useless. If we can thoroughly discourage and discountenance this class of opponents, we shall have removed no small stumbling-block out of the way of human improvement. It is with a view to this effect, that we have selected the facts which at this time it is our intention to present. And facts of a similar nature and tendency will, we think, form, occasionally, a very useful and even an entertaining article in *THE PHILANTHROPIST*.

The other class of persons whose minds draw unhappy conclusions from the comparison of former with present times, are those who acknowledge, in the fullest manner, the existence of improvement; allow that former times were in the highest degree inferior to the present, in moral qualities, intellectual qualities, political order, and happiness; but who, contemplating the advantages which we have already gained, discourage the idea of gaining any more. You are now happy, they say; why give yourselves labour and anxiety in striving after what is more than happiness? They are also very apt to add, that men risk the loss of the happiness which they have, by endeavouring to improve it.

There is never any occasion for surprise, when those who profit by the abuses arising out of existing imperfections, make use of absurd pleas in defence of those imperfections, so long as

they find people willing to be deceived by them. The wonder is, that absurd pleas in favour of imperfections should so long deceive those who suffer by the abuses to which imperfections give birth. It can be no surprise, when the men in whose hands power is lodged, without sufficient restraint and control, make use of any arguments which will answer the purpose of preventing that restraint and control from being applied. The wonder is, when those whose interest it is to apply such restraint and control, allow themselves to be persuaded, by the most absurd arguments, that no such restraint and control ought to be desired.

One would think that so absurd an argument as that which we have just mentioned, could indeed impose upon nobody. Yet of that large and powerful class of our countrymen, who may be characterized as the enemies of improvement, there is no inconsiderable portion who, if asked for the reasons of their enmity, would produce this as one of the very foremost of their pleas.

That celebrated moralist, Dr. Adam Smith, in his eloquent and engaging work, on the Theory of Morals, has represented the influence of the men of power and rank, as one of the great causes of the perversion of the moral sentiments of mankind. These are so eager to imitate the powerful and splendid, in their manner of thinking, as well as every thing else, that the opinions which they propagate are very apt to become fashionable opinions. Such men, like other men, are most eager to propagate the opinions which favour their own interests; the interests of their own particular order, at the expense of the other orders. And hence the existence in the world of so many false opinions, by which the interests of that order are favoured, and those of the other orders depressed. It is to this unhappy influence alone, we should think, that the prolonged existence must be owing, of an opinion so evidently absurd, as that, because men have delivered themselves from some portions of evil, they ought for that reason to make no exertions to deliver themselves from masses of evil under which they still suffer. Reason instantaneously suggests the very opposite conclusion, that having got rid of so much, they ought to go on with fresh alacrity in their endeavours to get rid of as much as possible of the rest. Why should men lie quiet under the pressure of any removable evil? Is not every exhortation to this effect, an exhortation to be unhappy? And is not this madness? They who consciously drive at such an end, are they not rogues? They who unconsciously, are they not dupes?

The work of Melvil begins during the reigns of Henry the Eighth of England, and James the Fifth of Scotland; and at the very outset describes a transaction which is full of instruction.

Henry had quarrelled with the Pope, on the ground of his divorce, and meditated a revolt from the Church of Rome. As a security against any dangers to which his designs might expose him, he projected a close union with the King of Scotland, who was the son of his sister, and by consequence his nephew. The object was to unite the whole island in one religion, with the prospect to the King of Scotland of uniting it also under one king, as Henry, at this time, had but one daughter, Mary, whom he called a bastard, and James was next in blood to the crown of England. Ambassadors were sent to James, to concert a meeting between the two kings, the uncle and the nephew. To James and his council the proposed conference appeared highly desirable; and upon a favourable answer, great preparations at York, where he had agreed to meet the English monarch, were made for his reception.

The clergy, however, were alarmed at the prospect of innovation in the religion of Scotland, if James should yield to the influence of his heretical uncle; and they set their engines to work to prevent the interview.

"They addressed themselves," says Melvil, "to such as were minions for the time, who had most of His Majesty's ear. These they corrupted with large bribes, to dissuade the King; telling him, how King James the First was retained in England, and of the old league with France; that upon this consideration, it would be prejudicial to his interest to keep that meeting, seeing the French would not take it well; neither the Emperor, who was highly incensed against Henry. They told him of the Pope's interdicting him, and what a great heresy was lately risen up there, and had infected not only the greatest part of the kingdom, but the King himself."

The following is the point which most deserves attention. The priests informed the King, "That many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland were likewise favourers of the said heresies; and that *it would contribute much to his advantage to enrich himself by their estates*; the names of whom they gave up in a sheet of paper, which the King put in his pocket, thinking it a very profitable proposition; and therefore with all diligence to be executed."

This, then, appeared an effectual expedient for preventing the

interview with Henry, to which the King had pledged his word. To one of his counsellors, the Treasurer, the King however thought proper to impart the advice. The courtier began to smile, "and the King to inquire whereat he did laugh." The Treasurer desired liberty from the King to tell him the truth. Whereat the King drew out his sword, saying merrily to him, "I shall slay thee, if thou speak against my profit." The Treasurer began by representing the troubles in which the crown of Scotland had usually been involved by contests with the nobility, and the dangers which James would incur by attempting acts which would unite them in their own defence against him; and this, said he, "at the instance of those whose estates are in peril, and who would hazard you and yours to save their own—the prelates, I mean; who fear that Your Majesty, at the example of the King of England, of Denmark, and several princes of the Empire, will make the like reformation among them. Therefore they have no will of your familiarity with the King of England, nor that your estate should be so settled that Your Majesty might put order to the abuses of the church. The Venetians," he added, "the wisest people in Europe, will not suffer any prelate, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abide or stand in their council house, when they are at council." He also reminded him that nothing less than a war with England could be the consequence of affronting so warm a prince as Henry, by first giving and then breaking his promise of an interview.

To the leading argument of the clergy, the Treasurer had also an answer in point. Whereas the clergy told him he might get money by spoiling the heretical lords, the Treasurer told him he might get still more by spoiling the sensual and overbearing church.

"The King took such delight in this language," says the writer, "that he determined to follow the advice given therein: and at his first meeting with the prelates, who had then very great rule in the country, he could not contain himself any longer, when they came hoping to see their plots put in execution. After many sore reproofs that they should have advised him to use such cruelty upon so many noblemen and barons, to the peril of his own estate;—Wherefore, said he, gave my predecessors so many lands and rents to the kirk? Was it to maintain hawks, dogs, and whores to a number of idle priests? The King of England burns—the King of Denmark beheads you: I shall stick [*stab to death*] you with this whingar [*sword*]. And therewith he drew out his dagger, and they fled from his presence

in great fear. The King resolved fully to keep his promise with his uncle the King of England, thinking it both his honour and advancement so to do."

The clergy were thrown into fear, but not negligence or despair. The resources of private application and intrigue remained. "They resolved, in the first place, to offer to pay him yearly, out of the rents of the kirk, fifty thousand crowns, to maintain hired soldiers, in case the King of England should make wars against Scotland because of the King's not keeping the appointment at York." To gain those who had the King's ear, gold was liberally distributed by the priests; and the principal favourite was buoyed up with the promise of their influence to be rendered Generalissimo of the forces, in case of a war, and exalted to the highest honours." All this, says Melvil, was cheerfully acceded to "by the minions at court, who had gained greatest favour, by flattery, and chiefly by drawing of fair maidens to the King, and striving to be the first advertisers whose daughter she was, and how she might be obtained, and likewise of men's wives."

To effect their purposes, the absence of the Treasurer, who overawed and exposed them, was desired. The wardship and marriage of the heiress of Kelly had lately been given by the King to the second son of the Treasurer; and the Treasurer went to take possession of the estate. Then was the time for the courtiers to work; "at such times as they brought unto him fair maidens and men's wives." Every calumny was employed to extinguish the favour borne to him by the King, who firmly opposed their persuasions. At last "the Prior of Pittenweem replied and said, Sir, the heiress of Kelly is a lusty fair lass, and I dare pledge my life, if Your Majesty will send for her presently, that he shall refuse to send her to you." After some little debate, it was agreed that the Prior of Pittenweem should be the bearer of the message. The Treasurer not only refused the lady, but treated the Prior with the language he deserved. The Prior returned full of delight. The Treasurer, well aware of the scheme in agitation, hastened to Edinburgh; and, without ceremony, pressed hastily into the chamber where the King was at supper; "but the King looked down upon him, and would not speak to him, nor know him. He nevertheless steps forward, and said, Sir, what offence have I done, who had so much of your favour when I parted from you with your permission? The King answered, Why did you refuse to send me the maiden whom I wrote for, and give spiteful language to him I sent for her? Sir, said he, there is none about Your Majesty dare avow any such thing in my face. As for the maiden, I said to

the Prior of Pittenweem, that I was well enough to be the messenger myself to convey her to Your Majesty; but thought him unmeet, whom I knew to be a forcer of women, and the greatest deflowerer of wives and maidens in Scotland. The King said, Hast thou then brought the gentlewoman with thee? Yes, Sir, said he. Alas! saith the King, they have set out so many leesings against thee, that they have obtained of me a warrant to put thee in ward; but I shall mend it with a contrary command. Then said the Treasurer lamentingly, My life, Sir, or warding is a small matter; but it breaks my heart that the world should hear of Your Majesty's facility. For he had heard that in his absence they had caused the King to send to England, and give over the intended meeting at York. Whereat the King of England was so offended, in that he had been so publicly scorned and affronted, that he sent an army to Scotland to destroy it with fire and sword."

The termination of this affair is memorable. We shall again transcribe the words of Melvil. "The King was engaged to raise an army to defend his country and subjects, who went to that war, to show their obedience, much against their hearts. But when they perceived Oliver Sinclair [the favourite] raised up upon men's shoulders, and proclaimed Lieutenant over the whole army at Solway Sands, the lords, in despite that the court and country should be governed by such mean men as were pensioners to the prelates, refused to fight under such a Lieutenant, but suffered themselves all to be taken prisoners. So the whole army being overthrown, the King took thereat great displeasure. There was great murmuring in the country, that, for pleasuring the prelates, the kingdom should be thus endangered. The report whereof, and the justness of the complaint, made the King burst out with sore language against them who had given him so bad advice. Which was carried soon to their ears; and they, fearing the effects of his displeasure, caused him to be poisoned; having learned that art, in Italy called an Italian posset."

Many circumstances of the highest interest are here to be noted; but they are so very obvious, even to the most careless attention, that we need not bestow many words in suggesting them.

That which presents itself as foremost in its dreadful consequences, is the war in which the unhappy nation was involved for the gratification of the meanest and vilest passions of a few profligate men, among whom the King and the priests bore a conspicuous part. Who that sees such calamities fall upon nations, for such ends, but must be filled with grief and indigna-

tion? Who but must lament the lot of humanity? Who but must desire to see the power taken away of thus treating mankind? Who but must desire to see the powers necessary for good government separated from the powers subservient only to abuse? Who but must desire to see those whose interest it is that the government should be bad, thoroughly controled and restrained by those whose interest it is that it should be good? Whose interest is it that it should be bad? Surely not that of those who are ruled.

Another circumstance must excite attention; we mean the gross immorality and disregard of domestic honour which disfigured and polluted the times which we are now comparing with our own. It is true that it is only the immorality of the prince, or at least of the prince and the priests, which is here taken notice of and described. But is it possible that the King and the priests could have produced that unbounded license of which we have here the picture, among the daughters and the wives of the principal men in the country, if that species of dishonour had constituted a stain, if there had not been that relaxation of morals which rendered it greatly common and little disgraceful?

Another circumstance of which there is here a specimen, and no more than a fair specimen, for the picture abounds with circumstances of a similar nature, is the perfect disregard of the rights of one another, in the most important instances, which characterized the men of that age. We see personal liberty, personal property, and even life, in the most important cases, treated as the mere sport of the passions of all those who found it possible to acquire a power over them. The property of whole classes of the nobles, the personal liberty of a great minister, the life of the King, we find protected by no sense of moral or legal obligation, whenever a party who has power to commit the enormity is made to fancy that he has also the interest. In fact, moral depravity, the want of all virtue, private and public, can hardly be carried to a greater height than what seems to have been prevalent in that age. If it should occur to any body to say that Scotland in that age was more barbarous than England, it will not be easy to find any circumstance in which the difference was great, except in the power of the nobles. The life and state of the King were by Henry the Seventh rendered less subject to the barons, and a despotism somewhat less turbulent had begun to exist. But surely the times of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth will not be quoted as times in which virtue, either public or private, formed a distinction in favour of England. Even the times of Queen

Elizabeth, those boasted times of which we in general content ourselves with a look at the outside, differed by a very faint shade from the times which preceded. It is however somewhat remarkable, that very few *media* through which we can look at the inside of things during her reign happen to exist. Those which do exist are the more to be valued; and the work of Melvil is one of them. Many secrets of her reign, and many characteristics of her and her people, appear in his pages, and assuredly do not add to the flattering strokes of the picture. So much fraud, so much treachery, so much of the disposition to do mischief under a pretence of doing good, hardly appear, within the same limits of transaction, in the history of nations. Now it is a rule which may be taken as pretty sure, that a people who are faithless to other people are faithless among one another; a queen who finds her people fit instruments of villainy against other people, will find them fit instruments of villainy against one another. But we shall produce hereafter the particular facts which show the very low standard of morality which existed at that time not in one, but every part of the island; and the remarkable improvement which the character of mankind has since undergone.

One thing which is worthy of notice is, that this same James of Scotland, who seems to have been so little restrained in the practice of every enormity, is represented as one of the very best of its kings, as much less frequently the author of mischief than other kings usually were.

Another reflection is, that these are the princes, these are the heroes, these are the sublime persons, for whose sakes we are so often told that we are bound to submit to ill usage from their descendants and successors; as if it were true that because a man's ancestors in times past had the prerogative of acting as the enemies of their country, he should be indulged with the same!

We must also remark that the times which we have now described, times at once so wicked and so foolish, as compared with our own, are the times to which we are so often called upon to look back for lessons to guide us in our present proceedings. These are the ancestors to whose wisdom we are so often and so imperiously commanded humbly to submit. These are the ancestors upon whose institutions any attempt at improvement is so often charged with presumption. That the charge is characterized by the greatest folly, is too obvious to need any proof. But it is a miserable consideration, that a plea of this description should be still so capable of being used successfully to defeat the best projects of reform, and prevent the good of mankind.

It is peculiarly important for us to take notice, that the times of which we treat were uneducated times ; the ignorance of the people was then profound ; all classes of the community were ignorant ; and very few in any class passed even the elements of instruction. Had the age been more instructed, it could not easily have remained so immoral ; or, in other words, the actions of men could not have continued so hostile to their happiness. It is owing to the progress of knowledge, that human conduct and human happiness have made that improvement which the comparison of past with the present times displays. If we can but succeed in the increase and diffusion of knowledge, we shall witness a far more rapid improvement of human conduct and happiness. We have every motive, therefore, which can actuate the breasts of men animated by the love of their fellow-creatures, to stimulate our exertions in the great work of education, which still remains in a state so nearly barbarous, so little fitting the rank of a civilized and instructed nation.

After Mary the young Queen of Scots had gone to France to marry the Dauphin, Melvil, then young, was sent by the queen mother to France, to be placed as a page of honour to her daughter, but travelled in the suite of the Bishop of Valence, who had come as ambassador to Scotland. Connected with the Bishop of Valence, he introduces the following anecdote, which affords some insight into the state of the human mind, in France also, about the same period. "The Bishop of Valence was at Paris. He was desirous to have some knowledge in the mathematics ; and for that effect he found out a great scholar in divers high sciences, called Cavatius. This Cavatius took occasion frequently in conference to tell him of two familiar spirits that were in Paris, waiting upon an old shepherd, who in his youth had served a priest, who at his death left them to him. The Bishop, upon the King's return from Germany, introduced the said Cavatius to the King. Who, to verify what he had said, offered to lose his head, in case he should not show the two spirits to His Majesty, or to any he should send, in the form of men, dogs, or cats. But the King would not see them ; and caused the shepherd to be burned, and imprisoned the said Cavatius." Here were united cruelty and folly at their height.

We shall content ourselves, in like manner, with a single trait of England. Queen Elizabeth, who appeared to have a great dislike ever to see Mary espoused, had opposed herself to every scheme of marriage, and, when that with Darnley appeared hastening to a conclusion, endeavoured to stir up to rebellion some of the Scottish nobles, making "her ambassadors promise that she

would hazard her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait because of appearing against the said marriage." They did rebel; but were so promptly opposed by the Queen's forces, that, before they could do much evil, they were glad to fly for protection to Elizabeth. But though it suited that Queen to excite them to rebellion, it by no means suited her to acknowledge so much. Two of them, the Lord of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were deputed to the Court of London to claim the succours which they held their due, while the rest remained at Newcastle. They were received with nothing but disdain and scorn. The conduct of Elizabeth even excited the indignation of neighbouring sovereigns; and the ambassadors of France and Spain "both alledged in their masters' names that she was the cause of the Scottish rebellion, and that her only delight was to stir up dissention among her neighbours." The Scottish rebels were now again useful. The Lord and the Abbot were given to expect favour, if they would only save the Queen from the imputations to which they saw that she was exposed. "She promised to give them what assistance they demanded, to the uttermost of her power, upon condition that they would please her so far as to sit down upon their knees, in presence of the said ambassadors, and declare that she had never moved them to that opposition and resistance against their Queen's marriage. By this cunning," continues Melvil, "she overcame the ambassadors; for she handled the matter so subtilly, and the other two so cowardly, in granting her desire, contrary to what was truth, that she triumphed. But unto my Lord of Murray and his neighbour she said, Now you have told the truth; for neither did I nor any in my name stir you up against your Queen. For your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore get you out of my presence; you are but unworthy traitors." —What prince was it who said, If truth were banished from the rest of the earth, it ought to find its asylum in the breasts of princes? It was certainly not Queen Elizabeth.

What we have mentioned is a *specimen* of her conduct in regard to Scotland. The whole is of the same destruction.

After a few circumstances more, we must conclude the present article.

When one of the princesses of Denmark was betrothed to James the Sixth of Scotland, the same who afterwards became James the First of England, and sailed for Scotland, she was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, and long detained. "The storm," says Melvil, "was alledged to be raised by the

witches of Denmark, as by sundry of them was acknowledged, when they were for that cause burnt. That which moved them thereto was, as they said, a blow which the admiral of Denmark gave to one of the bayliffs of Copenhagen, whose wife, consulting with her associates in that art, raised the storm, to be revenged upon the said admiral."

The following anecdote relates to a period subsequent to the marriage of the King. A number of persons were taken into custody in the county of Lothian, on a charge of having joined with the Earl of Bothwel in a scheme of witchcraft against the person of the King. "A renowned midwife, called Amy Simpson, affirmed that she, in company with nine other witches, being convened in the night near Prestonpans, the devil, their master, being present, standing in the midst of them, a body of wax, shapen and made by the said Amy Simpson, wrapped within a linen cloth, was first delivered to the devil, who, after he had pronounced his verdict, delivered the said picture to Amy Simpson, and she to her next neighbour, and so every one round, saying, This is King James the Sixth, ordered to be consumed at the instance of a nobleman, Francis, Earl Bothwel.—Afterward again, at their meeting, by night, in the kirk of North Berwick, where the devil, clad in a black gown, with a black hat on his head, preached unto a great number of them from the pulpit, having as it were lighted candles round about him—The effect of his language was, to know what hurt they had done; how many they had gained to their opinion since the last meeting; what success the melting of the picture had, and such other vain things." Upon the confession of these crazy persons, who seem very often to have really believed themselves to be the wretches they were said to be, a number of them, including Amy Simpson, were burnt. The Earl of Bothwel surrendered himself to justice, and demanded a trial. Such a proceeding was not held necessary, as the King gave but little credit to the accusation.

We have adduced these anecdotes relative to the belief in witchcraft, not only as curious proofs of the weakness of the human mind, when it was still capable of being governed by such delusions; but as proofs of the horrid cruelty of the times, when men proceeded without remorse to burn their fellow-creatures, upon the allegation of imaginary crimes like these.

One of the most remarkable circumstances attendant upon these barbarous sacrifices to the dæmon of superstition, is the frequency with which the victims, as in the cases before us, confessed the proceedings with which they were charged, and went to the burning pile testifying that they did possess, and had ex-

exercised, the supernatural powers, the possession and exercise of which constituted what was charged upon them as their crime.

How is it possible to account for so strange a phenomenon? There is hardly any thing in the history of human nature more remarkable than this. What possible interest could they have in a wilful falsehood? Instead of hoping to escape by confession, they were more sure of suffering. And what puts this hope out of the question is, that their language continued unchanged at the very pile, and in the midst of the flames. Confession, in the instance before us, appears not to have been excited by any promises. In fact, in all the histories we possess of the proceedings against witches in these and former times, any promise of impunity as a consequence of confession, or even of a mitigation of punishment, appears, if not altogether unknown, to have been very rare.

But if we can discover no motive for falsehood, what was the nature of the case? What account can we render of their declaration, that they possessed supernatural powers? We are driven to the supposition, however extraordinary, that they really believed they possessed them; that they really believed themselves to be the creatures whom they were represented to be. However surprising this power of the imagination, it is not incredible. They may, in conformity with undisputed facts in human nature, be supposed to have actually fancied themselves to have possessed the powers ascribed to them, to have seen, and spoken, and acted the things which they went to death declaring that they had. The power of the imagination over the belief is exemplified in a manner nearly as extraordinary in some of the stories of ghosts. Many persons have believed that they have seen and conversed with spirits, assuming the most extraordinary appearances, and performing the most extraordinary acts;—believed this with a degree of assurance equal to that which perception itself can produce; while, notwithstanding, it is abundantly certain, they saw nothing but ordinary appearances, and heard nobody but themselves. This weakness of the mind is also abundantly exemplified in cases of partial madness; where a man will imagine almost any thing, in some one particular direction, while the sanity of the mind, in other directions, continues unimpaired. The truth is, that in many cases which are treated as madness, the mental disorder is nothing more than a very unhappy propensity to believe what the imagination shadows forth, in some particular direction in which it has been vehemently indulged. It is observed by intelligent men, who have had great experience in this species of mental infirmity, that extravagant

pride is one of the most frequent of its causes. When a man broods over swollen ideas of his own consequence, or habitually burns with admiration and desire of high station, the imagination is capable of identifying the wishes; the man fancies himself to be something great; and he becomes a lord, a general, an admiral, or even a king, and converts every thing about him into the ensigns of his dignity and power. The knowledge of every man will supply him with examples in abundance for the illustration of this power (if we may call it so) of the mind.

Some persons, while endeavouring to account for the confessions of witches, have supposed that they might be the effect of a temporary confusion and perturbation of mind, produced by the circumstances of imprisonment, trial, interrogation, and probable death. Persons of weak and ignorant minds, powerfully operated upon by such alarming circumstances, observing judges and other great men impressed with the belief of their witchcraft, may, it is supposed, be so far imposed upon as to believe themselves, for the moment, to be what they are called, merely because they see other people, and people whose station overawes them, believing that they are so. This supposition implies an extraordinary weakness of the human mind. The case, however, is by no means impossible. The power of authority over the mind, especially in moments of extraordinary sensibility and excitation, is prodigious. The belief of one man in such circumstances may have power to make another believe almost any thing. One man pretending that he saw a fiery dragon in the air has, in times of superstition, made a whole company of other men believe that they also saw it. In truth, no fact in human nature is better understood than this, that one man's belief is one of the most common causes of other men's belief; that we believe, in a vast number of cases, for no other reason than because we see other men believe; and that there is great utility in such belief, which enables us to appropriate the knowledge of other men in cases innumerable to which our own researches cannot extend. It is the business of that strength of mind which education gives, to separate the cases in which that pliancy of the mind to the belief of others is excessive and dangerous, from those in which it is reasonable and advantageous. But the cases of its excess are sufficiently numerous and extraordinary to render not incredible even the supposition above stated, which has sometimes been made to account for the confessions of wizards and witches. And we can have little doubt that there have been instances in which the belief has been of the nature which is thus described. So extraordinary an impression, however, produced

at once by such a cause; we think is not so likely to have been of frequent recurrence, as a turn of the imagination analogous to that which gives some men so often the sight of ghosts, and produces the other cases of extraordinary belief which the undue ascendancy of the imagination creates.

Such contemplations as those which we have just now suggested, of the great mental inferiority of antecedent to present times, and of the extraordinary disadvantages under which that inferiority laid the generations which are past, set in a very strong point of view the importance of every thing which is judiciously performed to increase the quantity of knowledge on the earth; and they expose in hateful colours the enmity of those who oppose, or the indifference of those who disregard, the efforts which now happily are so generally made for improving the present systems of education, and extending more or less of its benefits to those who have hitherto been deprived of them, that is, the principal part of mankind.

If human nature has so much improved itself, and the circumstances in which it is placed, while education was so bad, and while the great bulk of the people were not educated at all, how much more rapidly will it proceed when education is improved; and when every man partakes of its blessings!

If mankind have been able to emerge out of that fit of immorality and stupidity, in which, by the facts which have been recorded for our instruction, it appears that at the period in question the people of this island were sunk; how much more easy is it for them now, when thus elevated and strengthened, to ascend to still greater heights of excellence!

If difference in knowledge be a cause which produces such important effects as the deformity and wretchedness of the age of Melvil, and the fairer and happier scenes of the present day; if, again, the two principal sources of the diffusion of knowledge are the reading and (essential to the reading) the publishing of good books, with what zeal ought every good man to cultivate and encourage the love of reading among his neighbours! or rather, to begin with his own family, and proceed to the utmost limits of his influence! How industriously ought the instructed philanthropist to impart of his knowledge to others through the press;—and the wealthy philanthropist to help the diffusion of it by his wealth! How much ought we to prize that wonderful instrument for the diffusion of knowledge, the press! how much encourage the use of it! how zealously oppose every attempt to impose upon it hurtful fetters; and how strenuously toil for the removal of those by which its usefulness is impaired!

Education and knowledge—these are the great instruments of good to mankind. For these let us toil ; for these let us excite others to toil ; and let it be set up as a mark at which every philanthropist should aim, not to pass out of the world without having performed for education and knowledge whatever it is in his power to perform. There is no man who has not something in his power ; for at least he can take pains with himself, and those who are connected with him. There are few men who cannot do more. And the proportion is far from small, of those who might do much if they had sufficient desire.

On Prison Discipline.

To the EDITOR of THE PHILANTHROPIST.

SIR,—IN the ninth number of your excellent work you promise to say a great deal more on the subject of prison discipline : I have been much disappointed to see so many numbers appear since, without any further notice being taken of that very important subject. Many circumstances have happened during that time to encourage you to proceed. The success of the bill for the abolition of fees ; the attempts that have been made to reform the state of the prisons in London, though hitherto unsuccessful ; the improvements that have taken place, or that are meditating, in many prisons ; are all encouraging to you, as you may reasonably conclude that your endeavours to bring the subject into notice by your own forcible appeals to humanity and justice, and by your account of Mr. Neild's book (which from its size, and from the manner of its publication, is not as well known as it deserves to be), have had considerable effect in producing the good that has been done, and that is further intended. I trust therefore that you will soon resume the subject, and give the account you promised of some models of prisons, which, I doubt not, would have a great effect on many who have no idea of the state of perfection to which they may be brought.

I was in hopes, too, that you would have suggested some plan by which, when our prisons have been brought into a good state, their relapse into a bad one might be prevented. It is melancholy to see, that after the exertions of the Gaol Committee in 1729, which, I presume, were at the time attended with good effects, the prisons in London should have fallen back into so bad a state. This and other circumstances prove that it is neces-

sary to do something more than merely to reform the present state of the prisons. Two plans have struck me as affording some hope of success: if you should be of the same opinion, you would perhaps improve them, and give an account of them in your own impressive language in an early number of *THE PHILANTHROPIST*.

Whoever has attended to the history of the abolition of the slave-trade, must have perceived the excellent effects of a society established for the purpose of assisting in obtaining it, which was always ready to receive and spread information on the subject, and to help forward the great cause in every possible way. If a similar society could be instituted to watch over the state of our prisons, it would probably be of the greatest service. People are too apt to turn away their minds from the subject. There must be great numbers who would take an interest in it, if the useless sufferings existing in our prisons, and the moral depravity caused by their present state, were brought home to their minds; and if they were fully made aware that these are not necessary evils, but that prisons might be so regulated as to reform the character of their inhabitants, and not to injure their health. Such a society as I have been speaking of would keep the public mind alive on the subject, and benefit the cause in a variety of ways.

Another plan still more desirable is that of establishing a regular system of visiting the prisons. It has appeared too plainly, that the power of visiting them, which is vested in the sheriffs and magistrates, does not answer the end. Some of them have performed this duty in an exemplary manner, and the good effects that have resulted are very striking: others have neglected this important duty in a degree hardly to be credited; and the misery and vice which have been the consequence of this neglect are truly deplorable. A system of visiting such as is established in our hospitals would be very useful; but perhaps as the task of visiting prisons is more irksome than that of visiting hospitals, something more effectual might be devised. Might not respectable persons be appointed in every county and every town, who should visit the prisons and receive a compensation for so doing? And might it not be made a punishable offence to neglect this duty, either by not making their visits often enough, or not being sufficiently attentive when they do make them? If the Reports of these visitors were regularly published, it would make any great abuses almost impracticable, and would hold out a strong inducement to the gaolers to behave to their prisoners with humanity and pro-

priety. If voluntary visitors were likewise encouraged to attend, they would form a useful check upon the regular ones, whose appointments should be made considerable enough to make it an object to them to keep their situations.—It appears to me that, by some simple plan of this nature, incalculable good might be done, and that nothing less will secure the proper treatment of prisoners.

I remain, Sir,
Yours with the greatest respect,
G. H.

• *Thoughts on charitable Institutions.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PHILANTHROPIST.

SIR,—OBSERVING that you frequently select such publications as contain the spirit of true patriotism and benevolence, and spread their valuable contents by your animadversions, I venture to recommend Mrs. Cappe's "*Thoughts on Charitable Institutions*" to your notice; because her remarks on placing out poor girls apprentices, a custom too generally adopted by parishes, deserve the widest circulation.

A noble disposition has arisen in the public to educate children of all classes; but the good effects of this labour of love must be greatly diminished, if not destroyed in many cases, if the tender objects of its care, especially females, are deserted on leaving school, and exposed at the most dangerous period of life to all the evils of this wide world, without a friend, a guide, or protector. The subject deserves your serious consideration, and I hope will occupy many of your pages. The evils of the system, though far spread under our eyes, are but little known or heeded, unless in very flagrant cases, which excite the public indignation against the delinquents: yet too much apathy prevails to search to the root, whence such dire consequences proceed, which is from the system itself.

To the philanthropist it is unnecessary to point out the importance of redressing the grievances of so large a number of our fellow-creatures, whose defenceless state disables them from avenging their own wrongs. I shall therefore confine myself to these hints; but, before I quit the pen, shall take the opportunity of expressing my sentiments on another subject connected with female charity-schools, and the welfare of the rising generation. I allude to the inordinate love of dress, which in all classes is reprehensible, in those of the lower orders most dangerous, leading to an improper

desire of admiration, frequently terminating in seduction, and finally in prostitution. Too much care therefore cannot be taken to repress this inclination by every means within the power of the managers of every description of charity-schools. One of the most obvious appears to be that of insisting, as an indispensable preliminary, that the dress of the mistress should be a model for that of her scholars. Can it be expected that the influence of her precepts will be great, whilst her example is in direct opposition to them? With what confidence of success can she recommend a mode of dress consistent with their station, when her own is a servile imitation of that of her superiors? All lady-like appearance should be avoided by the teachers of these seminaries. Nothing can be more incongruous than to see a troop of poor children, destined for servants or the wives of labourers, headed by a lady in the pink of the fashion, with neck and arms uncovered, and the graceful motion of her limbs advantageously displayed under the slight veil of thin drapery. Such a sight would excite laughter, were it not for the serious apprehension of the consequences. Let the guardians of such institutions choose plain housewifely women, respectable in appearance, exemplary in conduct and manners, and sound in principle, religious and moral, and the good effects will be visible in the future behaviour of their pupils, whose example in after life will extend in various directions, and is likely to have an important influence on society in general, in the promotion of virtue and increase of happiness.

P. W.

Facts interesting to Humanity.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Friendly Society for the Benefit of Poor Women in Times of Sickness, Child-bed, and Old Age. Established in Norwich, May 1st, 1802.

THE beneficial effects of inducing females in the more indigent conditions of life, to establish, with the assistance of their more opulent neighbours, a fund, by small weekly sums, to aid their necessities in times of child-bed, sickness, and old age, having been found of great importance at Lynn, where a society of this description has existed for many years, it was determined in the year 1802 to attempt a plan of the same kind at Norwich. As the funds in the Lynn society, however, were regarded as insufficient to afford the annuities for old age, a little difference was made in organizing the society, and the following regulations were adopted :

Every person subscribing 7s. 6d. per annum, and 5s. 6d. entrance, has the privilege of recommending one poor woman, who must be

in good health, and under forty-five years of age. A benefactor to the amount of five guineas at one time has the same privilege.

The members recommended pay 2s. 6d. on admission, 3d. for a copy of the Rules, and 6½d. the first Monday in every month. After one year's payment, they are entitled to receive 5s. per week in child-bed during the first month, and 2s. 6d. if confined by subsequent illness. During any other sickness which prevents their pursuing their usual employment, 3s. 6d. for the first month, and 2s. 6d. per week afterwards; but no recommended member can receive more than 30s. for illness within one year, except in very urgent cases, when the consent of six stewardesses must be obtained before it can be granted. Each woman on the death of her husband is allowed 20s., and 5s. in addition for such children as she may have under fourteen years of age living with her at the time. This allowance is made in consideration of the inability of a woman at that time to pursue her usual employment.

At sixty years of age a recommended member ceases her weekly payment, and is entitled to 1s. per week for the remainder of her life, or such sum as the General Committee may judge the funds capable of bearing. From the flourishing state of the finances of the society, this allowance is expected to be increased, as the annuitants attain sixty-five and seventy years of age.

Every year, at an annual meeting of the subscribers, sixteen ladies are chosen as stewardesses, whose office is to receive the monthly payments from the recommended members, and to visit and relieve them when necessary.

General Abstract of the Treasurer's Account, from the Institution of the Society, May 1, 1802, to April 30, 1813.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
By benefactions -	274 17 0	To printing, advertisements, &c. -	75 2 4
By annual subscription and admission fees -	1188 10 0	To secretary's salary, collecting subscriptions, &c. &c. -	64 11 3
By recommended members' admission fees -	63 13 3	Paid by stewards to recommended members -	1207 5 6
By monthly payments of recommended members -	1041 0 1	To 2650L. 3 per cent. consols. bought at different times	1678 14 8
By dividends on funded property -	460 10 0	To balance in steward's hands -	16 16 0
By legacies -	50 0 0	To balance in treasurer's hands -	43 19 7
By interest of money in the treasurer's hands during the first year -	7 19 0		
	<u>3086 9 4</u>		<u>3086 9 4</u>

It appears from the treasurer's and steward's accounts, that the sum of 1207*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* has been paid to 1483 women. To 571 women, during their confinement in child-bed, 553*l.* To 886 women during sickness, 614*l.* 6*d.*; and to 26 women deprived of their husbands by death, and left with children under fourteen years of age, 40*l.* 5*s.*

The number of recommended members, from the institution to May 1st, 1812, 464; deceased, 26; excluded for non-payment, 45; remaining on the list, 393. Total, 464.

Of those who have been excluded for non-payment, some have got into a better situation of life, and not required assistance; and others, having left the city, have found it inconvenient to send their monthly payments. Very few have been excluded from inability to pay; the class of people who are the objects of this charity not being generally of the lowest of the community, but of that valuable part who make great exertions to keep themselves and families clean and reputable.

The female in such families, who is commonly more anxious to provide for the wants of her offspring than for herself, has by the above plan the means of securing, by almost imperceptible deprivations, a certain provision, by which she can procure many little comforts in the trying time of child-birth and illness, which she must otherwise want; and enjoys the satisfaction of looking forward, in old age, to a constant income, which, though small in the estimation of the sons and daughters of affluence, is not so to a poor widow in the decline of life. It will at least afford her head a shelter from the pitiless storm, and enable her to spend her last days more comfortably than if wholly dependent on her own exertions or parochial assistance.

The following Ordonnance has been published at Paris on the subject of Penitentiary Houses:—

“Louis, &c.—Wishing to establish in the prisons of our kingdom such regulations as are proper to warn from vicious courses the criminals condemned to chains by the sentences of the tribunals, and prepare them by order, labour, and moral and religious instruction, to become peaceful, and useful to society, when they shall regain their liberty; and wishing to insure the success of the general establishment which we project, by an experiment which shall leave no uncertainty remaining, concerning either the general or detailed administration of these plans, we have ordained as follows:

“Art. 1. All prisoners condemned for crimes by sentence of the tribunals, and under twenty years of age, taken without selection from the prisons of the capital and the surrounding departments, shall be assembled in a prison which our Minister of the Interior shall appoint.

“2. The Director General of this experimental prison shall be named by us; he shall be charged with the superintendence and general direction of the police, labour, instruction, and administra-

tion in the prison; he shall recommend to the nomination of our Minister of the Interior an adjunct, if he think fit to choose one, and six inspectors, charged with him and under his direction with the superintendence and administration of this prison.

"3. These different places, which humanity and liberality only can make persons consent to occupy, shall be honorary.

"4. The Director General shall appoint the jailor of the prison, and the subordinate officers intrusted with the custody of the prisoners: he may dismiss them also at pleasure.

"5. He shall submit for his approbation, to our Minister of the Interior, the regulations to be established in the prison.

"6. Besides the account which shall be returned to us monthly of the state of this prison, in all the Reports of the Minister of the Interior, a Commission, composed of a Counsellor of State and two Masters of Requests, and one composed of three members of our Court of Cassation, shall each of them visit, twice a year, this prison, in all its details, and shall make known to us the result of their observations, which shall be written in the register of the prison. The Director General and the Inspectors shall be warned of the coming of these Commissioners, to be enabled to give all the general and particular information they may wish for.

"7. The Director General shall give, at the end of each year, a moral and detailed account of the state of the prison, and of the receipts and expenses. This account, verified and approved by our Minister of the Interior, shall be submitted to our inspection, and made public.

"8. We reserve to ourselves, with the advice of our Chancellor, the power of remitting any part of the term of the imprisonment of such convicts as shall have given reason to believe, by the regularity of their conduct, that their morals are so amended that they may be restored to society without inconvenience, and for their advantage.

"9. The Duke de la Rochefoucault, Peer of France, is appointed Director General of the experimental prison.

"10. M. Le Baron de Lessert is appointed Adjunct, &c. &c.
"9th Sept. 1814."

INSTITUTION FOR OLD AGE AT CHAILLOT, NEAR PARIS.

"This is an institution wholly independent of charitable purposes, in which men and women, after they have reached seventy years of age, or sooner, if infirm, can, *by right*, and without asking the favour of any one, *place themselves*, in order to pass the remainder of their days in comfort and repose. A subscription is the essential and indispensable condition of acquiring the right of admission; according to which, every subscriber must pay regularly and punctually 10*d.* per month, from ten to thirty years of age; 1*s.* 3*d.* per month, from thirty to fifty; 1*s.* 8*d.* per month, from fifty to seventy

years of age. These different payments will amount to 45*l.*, which must be completely paid before persons can acquire the right of admission. Hence, if any one more than ten years of age should offer as a subscriber, he or she must deposit, at the time of subscription, and according to his or her age, the sum which would have been paid if the subscription had commenced at ten. In order to give encouragement to benevolence, all persons who may be disposed to subscribe, may transfer their right to as many persons as they have made subscriptions, on condition that the person who shall be benefited by the transfer, shall be as nearly as possible of the same age as his benefactor, and that he shall not be admitted before he has reached seventy years, and paid the 45*l.* This transferred subscription is extinguished by the death of the substitute. The funds are placed on securities, and subjected to an administration, which is in every respect safe and undeniable. The house of M. Duchaila, the Governor of this institution, is most beautifully situated at Chaillot, in the Champs Elysées, about two miles from Paris, commanding a most extensive view of the city, the Seine, and the Champ de Mars. In front there is a very large and elegant parterre, terminating in an extensive kitchen-garden; behind, there is another large house, formerly the monastery of St. Perine, which also belongs to this establishment; and a field of about four acres, bordered by a well cultivated garden. In this establishment are nearly one hundred aged persons, male and female, whose manners and appearance evidently bespeak that they have figured in the genteeler walks of life, and whose countenances indicate the most perfect happiness and contentment. The chambers occupied by the female part of the society compose the right wing of the house. Each female has a bed-chamber to herself exclusively; and there is one sitting-room or parlour, appropriated to two females. Their clothing, if required, is found them. The left wing of the house is occupied by the males, who are distributed in the same manner as the females, each person having a bed-room to himself, and a common parlour being allotted to two persons, in which they receive the visits of their relatives and friends, without the inconvenience of being obtruded upon by strangers. A husband and wife have a room also to themselves. Their diet corresponds in every respect with the neatness and simplicity of their apartments. At one o'clock, a plentiful dinner is served up in the hall for the whole society, and at seven they again assemble to supper. Besides a sufficient quantity of meat and vegetables, each person is allowed a pound and a half of bread; the men a bottle of wine, and the women half a bottle, daily. In case of sickness, they are removed to a particular part of the house, which is used as an infirmary, where they are provided with every medical assistance, and experience every possible attention; and in case of their decease, they are decently interred in the neighbouring church, at the expense of the society; or elsewhere, at the expense of their

friends. Their time is entirely at their own disposal. They may even employ themselves in any lucrative occupation, provided it does not interfere with the quiet and general rules of the house. Several females very profitably engage in needle-work for their friends and families. What little pecuniary emoluments they may acquire by their industry, supply them with pocket money. The men usually pass their time in reading, walking in the neighbouring fields, or occasionally working in the garden."

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

In a former volume of this work, we recommended to the notice of our readers the exertions of this most useful Society; and we are convinced, that if the beneficial effects which it has produced upon the morals of the manufacturing classes, where the plan has been adopted, were but more generally known, it would experience a considerable accession to its funds, and thus possess the means of extending more substantial assistance than it has yet been able to afford, to those humane and benevolent persons who are willing to devote to the cause of the poor and ignorant, that without which money would be unavailing, their time, but whose circumstances prevent them from paying the rent of a room, or purchasing books and other school apparatus. We have been pleased and edified in seeing many of the poorer of the clergy, men whose incomes, even with a large family, were under 100*l.* per annum, eager to promote this good work, and soliciting for that purpose Spelling-books, Testaments, &c. from the Sunday School Society. And instances are not wanting, in which their zeal has induced them to purchase these articles out of their small pittance. They lived among the poor of their flock, they saw the deplorable consequences of the ignorance in which they had been permitted to be trained, and nobly resolved to do all in their power to remedy it. Exertions like these, while they claim the approbation of every friend to religion and virtue, call loudly for the pecuniary support of those to whom Providence has intrusted the means of affording it.

In many of these schools the number of voluntary teachers, who receive no other pay than the satisfaction of doing good, is very great. And although the improved means of instruction, where the number of children is considerable, might diminish the expense and the labour; yet we confess it affords us delight to see twenty or thirty young people, whose situations in life scarcely place them in the middle class, anxiously employed in this benevolent work, being well assured that the habitual exercise of such feelings will have a tendency to benefit the teacher, as well as the objects of his care.

The poor in many parts of the kingdom are still too ignorant to appreciate the benefits of education for their children ;—the temptation of 1s. per week, in addition to their income, to be obtained by the labour of a child, too often succeeds in depriving him of all means of instruction in daily schools.—And in those hot-beds of vice and misery, our cotton-spinning manufactures, where children are sacrificed to the idol of gain ; where they are made to work from five in the morning to eight at night, with but one hour of intermission ; in such places the poor children have not the least chance of obtaining necessary learning, or any idea of moral and religious duties, but from Sunday Schools. Surely the time cannot be distant, when the attention of the benevolent part of the public will be strongly excited to the misery endured by this most defenceless part of the community in some of our cotton-mills.—We say some, because we know that several enlightened individuals possessing such works, have considered the care of their population as a religious duty for the discharge of which they were responsible, and have acted accordingly : to these we only need to say, Go on and prosper : but to those whom no argument will reach, which is not connected with gain, we hope at a future time to be able to prove, by incontrovertible evidence, that even the pecuniary interest of the employer will be most effectually consulted by plans for promoting the best interests of the employed. While, however, narrow views of advantage are permitted to diffuse their poison through our manufacturing system, we are called upon to apply every lawful antidote ; and none appear to us more likely to be efficacious than Sunday Schools. It is therefore with pleasure that we present our readers with the following statement of the origin and progress of the Society.

Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools throughout the British Dominions.

President.

The Right Hon. LORD CARRINGTON.

Vice Presidents.

Sir Thomas Baring, Bart. M.P.	John Maitland, Esq.
Joseph Benwell, Esq.	Sir Thomas Plumer, M.P.
Thomas Boddington, Esq.	The Hon. Philip Pusey.
Charles Grant, Esq. M.P.	Benjamin Shaw, Esq. M.P.
John Harman, Esq.	Samuel Thornton, Esq.
William Henry Hoare, Esq.	Wm. Wilberforce, Esq. M.P.

This Society was instituted in the year 1785 by a considerable body of benevolent men, (of whom the late eminent philanthro-

pist Jonas Hanway was a principal member,) for the purpose of establishing Sunday Schools in the different counties of England ; it being considered the most likely means to effect a reformation of manners among the lower orders of the people, by instilling into the youthful mind the first rudiments of useful knowledge, and the important principles of religion and morality.

In forming the plan of this Society, the most liberal and catholic principles were adopted, in hopes that Christians of all denominations would be induced to unite in carrying it into execution with greater energy—Schools connected with the Church of England and with the different denominations of Dissenters, are equally objects of the Society's notice and relief, provided such schools be under the superintendence of some responsible person.

In order that this fundamental principle may not be infringed, the Committee is composed of an equal proportion of members of the Established Church and Dissenters ; and no books are issued by them for the schools under their patronage, but Spelling-books, Testaments, and Bibles.

These regulations, from which no departure is ever allowed, secure the Society against any possible imputation of forming a particular interest, and enable it to advance the common cause of Christianity, by furnishing to the children of each denomination the means of acquiring religious knowledge.

The Institution thus conducted, has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its friends and benefactors. Its character and utility have been justly described by the late Rev. Dr. Kaye, Dean of Lincoln, in a Charge delivered by him to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham.

“ The Divine Goodness seems to have pointed out to the present age, a measure so peculiarly comprehensive in the advantages which it holds out to society, that it appears formed to counteract every evil propensity of these days, and to prevent them from being injurious to succeeding generations ; which folds, my brethren, within its benevolent arms, every sect of Christianity, every description of mankind. The measure, which appears to me to possess this invaluable antidote to the poisonous manners of this depraved age, is the establishment of Sunday Schools. The power and efficacy of these institutions reach to such extent of situation and of numbers, as no other mode of improvement can possibly equal. Having anxiously watched their infancy, and attended to their progress, I have thought their principles the most unequivocal, and their influence the most extensive, that can be employed in the cause of general reformation.

This object, my reverend brethren, I own to you, it nearest my heart in my present communication with you; and you cannot employ your influence in more humanity to individuals, and more patriotism to your country, than by giving it every assistance and protection in your power."—Experience has fully justified the opinion of that venerable divine.

Such being the auspicious appearance produced by the establishment of these schools in England, the Society felt anxious to extend the same benefits to the indigent inhabitants in the principality of Wales; and in the year 1800, encouraged by some additional public support for the prosecution of this object, the offer of assistance was embraced by the Welch with eagerness and gratitude; and such has been the zeal of the principal superintendants of the schools, both in North and South Wales, that there is scarcely a district remaining to which their beneficial influence has not been extended; and the principality at large is now represented as being by this means in a high state of moral cultivation.

The Society becoming more known by this extensive sphere of operation, pressing applications for its aid were presently received from some of the adjacent islands; and it must afford pleasure to the community to know, that Sunday Schools are established in the Isles of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, and Scilly; the success of which is most satisfactorily confirmed by the testimonies of many of the principal inhabitants.

Ireland had long excited the serious commiseration of the Sunday School Society; but aware of the degree in which the adoption of so large and populous a territory would press upon the limited state of its funds, they were long prevented from gratifying their wishes. The painful consideration, however, of the barren and necessitous portion of that part of the British empire—the general poverty of its peasants—the gross ignorance in which they are immersed—and the consequent profligacy of their general conduct, determined the Society at length to tender its patronage for the encouragement of this important object in that too long neglected island; presuming that, in prosecuting a measure which promised so much moral and political benefit to the sister country, the liberality of the public would not be found to desert them. No enterprise of the Society has been attended with more gratifying success; both Protestants and Roman Catholics eagerly availed themselves of this offer of British beneficence.

There is reason to believe, that upwards of three hundred Sunday Schools are already established in that country, and an

institution of a kindred nature has sprung up under the designation of the "Hibernian Sunday School Society," the exertions of which have already done much. Indeed the most gratifying information has been received, that "the happy effects of Sunday School education are no longer confined to this country, but that the Irish soil can produce as rich and valuable fruit as that of England or Scotland; and present circumstances encourage them to hope, that in a few years, through the divine blessing, that country will widely exhibit traces of contentment, industry, and good order, astonishing those who have judged of it merely by those noxious weeds which have sprung up in consequence of her having been so long neglected."

In 1812, applications were made to the Society for the further extension of their operations to Antigua, Barbadoes, the Cape of Good Hope, Sicily, and Gibraltar. Here the Society exercised much deliberate consideration; the result of which was, a designation of themselves as "A Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools throughout the British Dominions."

They ventured this bold step on a presumption, that the same Providence which pointed to the extension of their employment, would furnish the means for carrying it into effect. It has been already acted upon to a considerable extent. Sunday Schools are established not only at the islands above mentioned, but also at Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, and Canada in North America; and it is peculiarly gratifying to add, that the Society have also established floating Sunday Schools on board several of His Majesty's ships at the Nile, and other stations, which are conducted with the greatest order, and have produced the happiest effects; besides which, two well regulated schools have been recently formed on board two convict ships bound for New South Wales, which are under the superintendence of the surgeon, who writes, that "the convicts (three hundred and nineteen in number, male and female,) with a few exceptions behave well; that many of them by means of the instruction given to them can now read the Bible; and that he is inclined to believe that they will have reason to bless the day when such a Society was formed."

Some time ago the Society directed their concern to the profligate and deplorable condition of both French and American prisoners of war; and by a considerable grant of Spelling-books and Testaments in French and English, and the zealous efforts of well-disposed individuals, many of those unfortunate men were brought to a state of considerable improvement and good

conduct, and to a persuasion, no doubt, that, although they were prisoners in England, Englishmen were nevertheless their friends.

Another important object, which has for some time engaged the attention of the Society, is the *education of adults*; a vast number of persons in this country advanced to years of maturity and old age, are entirely ignorant of the first rudiments of knowledge. Schools for this unlettered class of society are established both in England and Wales, conducted by persons of mature age with the most gratifying success.

After this brief exposition of the proceedings and moral effects of this inestimable Society, little need be said to enforce its pretensions to the patronage and support of enlightened and benevolent Christians. So many claims have indeed been laid on the public, by the numerous and excellent societies which have recently sprung up, and particularly by those which have the education of the poor for their object, that it is feared the interests of the Sunday School Society may be in danger of becoming impaired. Such a result cannot be too seriously deprecated. This Society provides so effectually for educating those whose time is bespoken in the days of labour, by the calls of their necessary occupations, and also for recovering them from vagrancy, disorder, and irreligion on the Sabbath day, and training them up to a due observance of that holy appointment; that it must ever be regarded as an institution connected most nearly and vitally with the vigour, the improvement, and the stability of the country.

Without asserting its claims to preference above any existing institution, the Sunday School Society may yet be allowed to challenge the praise of having not a little contributed to the prosperity and usefulness of many. It was the pioneer which cleared the way when it was obstructed by ignorance and prejudice; and many societies have profited by that effect of its exertions, which prepared the public mind for giving them a welcome reception.

The number of books already issued by the Society are 386,460 Spelling-books, 79,363 Testaments, and 8,139 Bibles, for the use of 4,247 schools containing upwards of 350,000 children.

At present, the demands for its aid exceed any thing which has yet been experienced. Its operations are going forward to a great part of the *British dominions*; and there is reason to believe that, if suitably supported, it will penetrate into those

parts which remain unenlightened, and supply the poor generally with the means of understanding and appreciating those Scriptures, which, through the blessing of God, may make them wise unto salvation.

**SOCIETY FOR BETTERING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR AT
LIVERPOOL.**

Charity, according to the vulgar acceptance of the term, most commonly does more harm than good. We mean that undistinguishing bounty, which is rather calculated to hold out premiums to idleness and vice, than protect and support suffering merit. The most worthless are generally the most importunate; and it is easier to get rid of their troublesome solicitations by giving money, than by inquiring into the real state of the case. Charity, properly so called, consists in the appropriation of a portion of our time to the investigation of cases of distress. For want of the careful oversight of disinterested individuals, our poor-rates are increasing to an alarming extent, and along with it the very evil which it was intended to prevent.

The task of inspection at first sight appears so arduous, that to set about it upon a large scale requires no common share of philanthropic energy and firmness of mind. But those benevolent characters, who in the first place have the courage to undertake, and the steadiness to pursue it, while they deserve well of their country and of mankind at large, are scarcely themselves aware of the extent of the benefit they are conferring on their species. By proving the practicability of the plan, they will encourage others. As examples multiply, the cause will be strengthened; and we may look forward to some comprehensive and general plan, by which all the good feeling existing among persons of every denomination may be combined, and made to act in one focus, for diminishing the crime and misery so prevalent in the poorer classes. Could this be happily effected (and we confidently believe that it may), the quota of exertion to be required from each individual would be comparatively trifling, while the good to be effected would be prodigious and permanent. These individuals, by wisely attacking the root of the evil, instead of wasting their breath in noisy declamations about reform, would show themselves real patriots. Reform where it is wanted will be sure to follow, when the mass of the people are moral and virtuous; but without morals and virtue no reform can be lasting.

These reflections have been suggested by reading the Second Report of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor at Liverpool; and it is impossible to read it without feeling the warmest wishes for the success of their enlightened exertions:

they have made the experiment of a plan of investigation, and the result is just what we should have expected. We shall insert their own account of it.

"By a reference to the Report of the expenditure of the subscription entered into in the month of December 1811 (the management of which was intrusted to your Committee), the following comparative view of the number of poor who received relief at that time, and in the winter of 1808-9, will be found :

"In the winter of 1808-9, 6,413 families, consisting of 23,004 persons, applied for and obtained assistance : this last winter the numbers were 4,412 families, consisting of 15,985 persons. If we may presume that the distress of the latter period was equal to that of the former (and there seems no reason to doubt it), the inference is plain, that 7000 persons have been prevented by the prudent precautions of the Society from abusing a fund which was raised for the relief of real distress. It is not intended to be asserted that there have been no impositions practised, but only that they have been much fewer in number, and more liable to detection in consequence of the system of inquiry, which formed an essential part of the Society's plan."

"Your Committee have been very anxious to make this system of inquiry permanent, but they have hitherto been unsuccessful in their endeavours to that effect. This want of success has principally arisen from the almost insurmountable difficulty of finding proper persons to fill the situation of Visitors. In some of the most populous districts of the town, whole streets are entirely occupied by the poor themselves, where there is no possibility of selecting a single individual fit to undertake the office; and as the knowledge which the Committee are anxious to obtain is of that nature which requires constant and personal observation, this circumstance has formed a barrier against the attempt, which they have not yet been able to overcome. It must, however, be remarked, that their time has been so much occupied with the other objects of the Institution, that it has prevented their paying to this that close attention which is so necessary in overcoming difficulties; though they are not without hopes that some expedient may yet be devised which may remove the obstacles they have hitherto had to contend with, and may enable them to carry into effect, to a useful, if not to a complete degree, this desirable object of the Society."

It will be melancholy indeed, if in such a place as Liverpool the scheme should fail for want of active co-operation.

The second object of the Society has always been regarded by us as one of vast consequence : it consists in providing a safe deposit

for the small earnings of the labouring poor. On this head the Society thus expresses itself :

"It is almost unnecessary to point out the great advantages and extreme usefulness of Benefit Clubs, under a judicious system of management: they are the best means which have yet been devised of enabling the industrious poor to provide for their own support in sickness and old age, and of thus rescuing them from that dependence on others which must be so painful to every manly mind: they countenance and support a spirit of independence, and induce better habits of industry and frugality than are usually found among the labouring classes of society.

"They would also earnestly call upon the rich and the liberal to encourage these societies, by becoming honorary members: by so doing they will give considerable aid to their funds, they will make their success more certain, they will give the additional weight of example to precept, and thus render the community an essential service.

"Your Committee have also established a fund for the purpose of affording to the poor an easy and safe method of laying up their occasional savings.

"This they consider as a measure of the utmost utility and importance. Numerous are the instances within the knowledge of your Committee, in which the hard-earned savings of the industrious poor have been lost by the failure of those persons in whose hands they have been deposited; and the unfortunate owner, who had anticipated the enjoyment of a comfortable independence in those days when his strength should fail him, an independence doubly valuable as having been acquired by his own exertions, has unexpectedly found himself exposed to the miseries of undeserved poverty, and robbed of his little all at a time when the creeping infirmities of age had more sensibly taught him to estimate its value. As it is impossible for a benevolent mind to contemplate such situations without compassion, so must it be its anxious wish to devise some method of preventing an evil so melancholy in its consequences; and your Committee trust that the establishment of the Mechanics', Servants', and Labourers' Fund will prove the best means of attaining so desirable an object."

We regret that our limits prevent us from dwelling more particularly upon this Report; but we trust that in the course of the progress of the Society's labours we shall have occasion to advert to them again, and to hold up the success of their plans as an encouragement to others to go and do likewise.

To the EDITOR of THE PHILANTHROPIST.

SIR,—I herewith send you a small printed paper, containing the principal part of the late Act of Parliament against the dreadful offence of *Child Stealing*. By inserting a copy of it in your next number you will much oblige me.

London, 8th Sept. 1814.

B. M. F.

CHILD-STEALING.

In the year 1808, Mr. Alderman Combe brought a Bill into the House of Commons, to prevent CHILD-STEALING, which passed that House, but, from some accidental cause, did not pass the House of Lords. At the time the distressing event happened of the loss of Thomas Dellow (aged three years), who was stolen from London in November 1811, and discovered at Gosport, the want of a law, by which persons guilty of CHILD-STEALING could be indicted in a *direct* manner was noticed; and, with a view to the passing an act for that purpose, several cases of this offence were printed, and distributed to Members of Parliament and others: and on the 17th of May last Mr. William Smith (member for Norwich) brought in a Bill against the crime; which Bill, with some amendments, was finally passed on the 18th of July 1814.

Substance of "An Act for the more effectual Prevention of Child-stealing."

The first clause enacts, "That if any person or persons, from and after the passing of this act, shall maliciously, either by force or fraud, lead, take, or carry away, or decoy, or entice away any child under the age of ten years, with intent to deprive its parent or parents, or any other person having the lawful care or charge of such child, of the possession of such child, by concealing and detaining such child from such parent or parents, or other person or persons having the lawful care or charge of it; or with intent to steal any article of apparel, or ornament, or other thing of value or use upon or about the person of such child, to whomsoever such article may belong; or shall receive and harbour with any such intent as aforesaid any such child, knowing the same to have been so by force or fraud led, taken, or carried, or decoyed or enticed away as aforesaid; every such person or persons, and his, her, and their counsellors, procurers, aiders, and abettors, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall be subject and liable to all such pains, penalties, punishments, and forfeitures as by the laws now in force may be inflicted upon, or are incurred by, persons convicted of grand larceny."

The second clause enacts, "That nothing in this act shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any person who shall have claimed to be the father of an illegitimate child, or to have any right or title in law to the possession of such child, on account of his getting possession of such child, or taking such child out of the possession of the mother thereof, or other person or persons having the lawful charge thereof."

The third clause enacts, "That this act shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*."

By the second clause, it is not to be understood that the father has any new powers given him by this act, or that the mother has any powers taken from her which she had before the passing of it.

The reason why this act does not extend to *Scotland*, is, that it should not interfere with the existing laws of that country.

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